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Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy,
} Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

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The Standard.

ADDRESSES.

The annexed addresses were received by Arnold Buffum by the last steam-packet. The first, from the "Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," is confined exclusively to the case of John L. Brown. The other, though not from a professedly anti-slavery body, is, from that fact, especially worthy of attentive perusal and consideration. Both, I deem, as valuable documents in common with many others forwarded from Great Britain, though these have reached us after the question was settled, that the South shrunk from the murder, or any other punishment, of Brown. To the abolitionists in this country and abroad is this result attributable, as the press generally has been silent, and kept the people ignorant that so high-handed a crime was in contemplation.

It is not the less true because often repeated, that the preservation and establishment of the rights of man have been entrusted to the people of this country. But they have been faithless to this high trust in permitting the continued existence of chattel slavery for more than half a century after they achieved their own political independence. Justice is fast claiming her own establishment, and in enslaving our brethren, we are ourselves becoming slaves.

The sympathies of every true man must be enlisted in behalf of the starving and degraded millions of Great Britain. But would that, in place of the sickly sentimentality which mourns over the tyranny of other nations, and finds in it an excuse for our own, America would do the duty which lies close to her hand, and so cease to be a hissing and a by-word, and be no longer, in her example, the shield behind which the despotism of the old world finds a refuge.

But we need not despair. Our destiny is not yet accomplished. Freedom will yet find her home on this continent, though her friends now are few and despised. A man has been condemned to die a felon's death for obeying a noble, and high impulse, and the plainest principle of Christianity. But in the attending circumstances we see great cause for hope. The indignant voice of the abolitionists has been heard, and they, whose hearts dared conceive the crime, could not find the courage to execute it. Thirty years ago almost precisely the same circumstances occurred, and there were none to save the victim. The facts were given by Mr. Buffum at the annual meeting. They are briefly these. A young man by the name of Taber, a Friend, of Maine, assisted a female slave to escape from her master, in South Carolina, intending, it was said, to marry her. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be hung. The day of his death was appointed, and he only escaped the ignominy of a public execution, by self-destruction.—G.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BIRMINGHAM BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

At a numerously attended special meeting of the committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at the public office Birmingham, April 3, 1844, Samuel Lloyd, esq. in the chair, it was unanimously resolved, on motion of R. T. Cadbury, esq. seconded by the Rev. Thomas Swan:

That the case of John L. Brown, of the State of South Carolina, now lying under sentence of death for aiding the escape of a fugitive slave, has created throughout this country the greatest astonishment and feelings of heartfelt sorrow.

That, sympathising in these feelings, this committee earnestly trust that all citizens of the United States who profess the Christian religion, or who adopt the Declaration of Independence, will lose no time in uprooting the system of slavery, of which this enormity is one of the fruits, and which, associated as it is with republican institutions has tended to render them odious in the eyes of the civilized world.

On the motion of J. Humphrey Esq., seconded by Edward Sturge, esq.: that the following address be adopted and forwarded to the United States for publication.

American Citizens!—We offer no apology for addressing you on this occasion. We have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow, that an individual now lies under sentence of death in your country for aiding a slave in making her escape from bondage.—The Constitution of your Union is based upon the principle of universal freedom, and it is astonishing to find that under this Constitution slavery is not only tolerated but upheld. This is as inconsistent as it is unchristian. The laws of nature are hostile to man holding property in man, and the Word of God declares that "He hath made of one one blood all the nations of the earth."

How great, then, must be the guilt of that nation, by whom these laws are violated, and who, while professing liberty, hold man in bondage.

Are you not thus guilty? Does not the condemnation to death of John L. Brown display before the whole world deep turpitude in treating as a crime a deed which, wherever true liberty exists, ought by all christians to be considered an act of imperative duty?

We implore you to raise your voice against this legal murder in South Carolina. Should John L. Brown perish, how will you wipe out the indelible stain which must attach to every one who refuses to protest against this terrible deed? We cannot doubt that an energetic remonstrance on your part against the law of South Carolina by which this man is condemned, would accomplish its destruction.

Citizens of America! You live under a government which professes, to be democratic, and you tell us truly, that liberty is the birthright of all men. Do justice to your principles. Give every man his freedom, and then, *and not till then*, will the moral influence of America promote the cause of freedom in every part of the world.

On motion of R. T. Cadbury, esq. seconded by the Rev. Johnathan Hooper: That the sincere and cordial thanks of the friends of the slave are due to Lord Brougham, and also to Lord Denman, for the manly, judicious, and Christian expressions to which they have given utterance in the house of lords, on the subject of the condemnation to death of John L. Brown by an American court of justice; and in offering to those noblemen their warm acknowledments, this committee must add their especial gratification that the highest judicial authorities in this country have been foremost to direct public abhorrence against that perversion of justice of which the case of John L. Brown is so flagrant an instance.

Signed in the name and by order of the committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, this 3d day of April, 1844.

SAMUEL LLOYD Chairman.
WILLIAM MORGAN, Secretary.

ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Council of "The National Complete Suffrage Union," established to claim for the unenfranchised people of Great Britain and Ireland, their political rights, to the friends of freedom, in the United States of America.

Ardently attached to the principles of freedom, we seek the political enfranchisement of our fellow-countrymen. Oppressed by laws they have had no voice in making, borne down by taxes imposed without their consent, nearly *six millions* of male citizens, above the age of twenty-one, demand admission within the pale of the British Constitution. In the name of those men, on behalf of the rights of humanity, and the claims of Christian principle, we now address you:

First—On behalf of our own unenfranchised fellow-countrymen who suffer indirectly from the abuse of freedom in your democratic institutions.

America boasts itself to be the land of liberty. Its Constitution is based on the principles of democracy, and its citizens profess to be animated by a love of universal freedom. The right of complete suffrage is nominally conceded, and therefore class legislation ought to be a thing unknown. These principles we wish to see restored to the British Constitution. Would that America did them justice, that we might point to her as a living witness of their intrinsic worth, and a positive exemplification of their practical importance. We cannot, we dare not do so, while America tolerates and upholds the inhuman system of slavery, and *deprives nearly three millions of her colored population of their rights and liberties as citizens of the State.* In her "Declaration of Independence," she asserts that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" that among these are "LIFE, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness;" and that to secure these rights, "governments are instituted among men." Notwithstanding which, she tramples on the very first principles of liberty, by sanctioning the monstrous doctrine, that man can hold property in man; and in some of her States, she has actually enacted laws under which sentence of death has been passed upon an individual, for aiding the escape of a female slave from unrighteous bondage! Whilst such crimes are perpetrated in the name of liberty, and by a nation which presumes to be morally, commercially, and intellectually an example to the world, we feel that the cause of freedom, essentially the same in every country and clime, is exposed to contempt and scorn. Most men judge by hasty observation; few discriminate between the practical defects of your political institutions, and the principles on which they are based, and thus the cause of freedom is seriously abused. But *such discrimination is indispensable to a correct appreciation of the democracy of America, while that democracy is vitiated by slavery, and thus poisoned at the core.*

We appeal to you on behalf of the rights of our common humanity, and the claims of Christian principle. John L. Brown, in aiding the escape of a runaway slave, has neither done violence to the laws of God, nor the rights of man. He was actuated, we believe, by the generous promptings of kind and benevolent feeling; and if he fall a victim to the tyranny of a barbarous law, it will entail indelible disgrace on your much privileged, but guilty land. Christianity could have no sympathy with such a deed; humanity revolts at the thought of it, and the whole civilized world would execrate the motives and the policy by which that deed were done. We implore you, then, to seek, by prompt, united, and decided action, the deliverance of this innocent man from prison and from death. Though sentence has been passed, under the laws of South Carolina alone, we know that she dare not withstand the united influence of the whole American republic; and if the friends of freedom there do not continue to exert that influence, by whom else can the great act of justice and humanity be done?

We appeal to your best feelings, at once to uproot a system, the bitter fruits of which are thus so shockingly exemplified. We take guilt to our own country, for having suffered slavery to remain in our American colonies, before any part of them was dissevered from the British crown. Then three hundred thousand of your fellow-beings were in bondage—but now *nearly three millions*, within your territory, are in chains. Where is the guilt of this fearful increase? Are you not prepared to wash that guilt away; to wipe from your banner the dark deep stain of slavery, and let all your glowing population stand forth before the world, *physically, morally, and politically free!*

On behalf of the council,
JOSEPH STURGE, President,
JAMES H. WILSON, Secretary.
Birmingham, 4th month, (April) 3d, 1844.

West-Indies.

NEGRO CONSPIRACY IN CUBA.

Since the discovery of a conspiracy of the slaves to gain their liberty in Cuba, it appears from the papers published there, that the whites were practicing the most wanton and barbarous cruelties upon the blacks. It is stated that upwards of 3000 of those poor creatures had been murdered,—and that they were actually *strangling* twenty-five daily, by the public executioner at Mantanzas! There were upwards of 3000 confined in the prisons at Havana.

A LESSON FOR SLAVEHOLDERS.

The recent insurrection in Cuba.—A correspondent of the Express, writing from Havana, makes the following development;

The white population of our island have most narrowly escaped the fate of those of St. Domingo, and even now very little security is felt by the greater portion, from the impossibility of knowing how far the machinations of the mulattoes and negroes have been counteracted. A very strong patrol parades our streets nightly, in addition to the usual night watch and police. The following declaration of one of the conspirators, was actually made before one of the military commissions now sitting:

SIR: All the free negroes and mulattoes are accomplices to this horrible rising, and if the discovery had been delayed a few days longer, its success could not have been prevented. The whole island would have risen at the same hour. I have been interpreter among them, as I speak English, and was offered $10,000, and the rank of brigadier, to induce me to enter into the plot, which, for my misfortune, I accepted, as I supposed the blow would not fail. Our provisional king was to have been Mr. Turnbull, the English consul, now residing in Jamaica, who has $270,000 to cover the expense of arms, ammunition, and expenses of agents in the cause. Our chief was "Placido," the postman, of extraordinary knowledge, and deeply in the confidence of the blacks, and also many of the whites. The chief in Havana, was "Cabellos," a retired captain in the black regiment.

In Trinidad the chief was "Pomasua," a mason, and a man of great knowledge. He was a general of division. In Puerto Principe, our chief was "Flores," who was formerly sent to Spain for trial, for being concerned in the other conspiracy. The rising was to have begun simultaneously at midnight between Mantazas and Cardenas. The blacks were to set fire to the buildings, murder the whites, take their arms, and proceed at once to the shore near Cardenas, where they would find six thousand stand of arms, and ammunition, landed from an English brig which was to have come from New Providence, and fallen upon Matanzas with about 30,000 men, where they would join their chief.

The plan in Matanzas was at first to have distributed small tin cases of arsenic, procured from New Providence; but the cooks, coachmen, and servants, were found so secure in the cause, that it was thought equally effective that they should set fire to the houses, murder their masters, and bring their heads to the chief.

The same fate was prepared for the capitol and other towns of the island. The signal at Havana was to have been the firing of rockets, and after the firing the houses and murdering all they could, the blacks were to concentrate at the bishop's garden (about three miles out,) and await orders. Every village or town is comprehended in the plot, and the slaves will declare that they were offered their liberty, that they should possess the land and the white women, for which reason these latter were not to be killed, unless they were old or ugly. Some will declare the women they had selected, others the murders they were to commit. In fact the declarations of my accomplices will fill every one one with horror.

THE DANGER OF EMANCIPATION,—JAMAICA.—Late advices from Jamaica, state that the whole militia system was about to be entirely abolished, and the same was likely to take place in the Bahamas, it being very onerous, and GENERALLY CONSIDERED UNNECESSARY.

From the Correspondence of the United States Gazette.

HAYTI.

CAPE HAYTIEN, May 4, 1844.

Dear Sir:—An order for the arrest of General Pierrot, on account of alledged misconduct in the expedition against Santiago, arrived here from the President at Azua, on 16th ult. But Gen. Pierrot, instead of being arrested, collected the troops of Au Borgne, (50 miles to the westward of this, where he resides,) and marched upon this place. Some show of preparation for defense was made by the troops here, as the invaders approached the town; but nothing effectual was done to prevent their entrance, and much alarm prevailed for a day and a night among the inhabitants, the foreigners, and more wealthy colored people, placing their families and more valuable effects on ship-board for security.

The army, however, amounting to 2000 men, entered the town on the morning of the 25th ult. without opposition or violence. At a meeting of the authorities, General Pierrot demanded that they should sustain him against the President, and proposed that this section of the island should be erected into a separate government, or State. This was assented to, and on the 27th, a manifest, issued "in the name of the Creator of the Universe, of Liberty, of Union, and of Independence," and signed by 300 of the principal citizens, was published through the streets at beat of drum, declaring the "Department of the North" separated from the government of Herard Rivere. The manifest states that President Boyer, who was called to preside over the people in 1820, plundered the public treasury, destroyed their means of defense, and exiled their best citizens.

That the revolution of 1843 afforded them a "glimpse of futurity strewn with flowers;" but they had again been deceived. President Herard was even more despotic, avaricious, and bloodthirsty than his predecessor. He, too, had dissipated their treasures, deceived their deputies, plunged the country into a civil war, and above all, had dared to order the arrest of the brave old veteran, Gen. Pierrot, for refusing to further his inhuman project of butchering their brethren of the seas. The President is therefore declared a traitor to his country, and devoted to the execration of the people. Gen. Pierrot has been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces: a provisional government, called a "Council of State," has been formed, the most influential members of which are military men; the National Guard has been abolished, and its troops incorporated with the standing army, in which several merchants, and other private citizens, have just been appointed generals, colonels, &c.: the municipality has been suppressed, and the new organization, thus far, has been entirely of a military character. All functionaries who concur in the manifest, retain their posts; those (there are few or none) who dissent, have been allowed one month to arrange their affairs, and leave the territory. Protection is guaranteed to foreigners, commerce, and the right of property; but one of the first acts of the "Council of State" was (1st instant) to lay an additional export duty on coffee, to go into immediate effect, of $10 Haytien to the thousand pounds, which measure bears particularly hard on such merchants (mostly foreigners) as had large stocks on hand ready to embark, and amounts, in fact, to putting them under special contribution. Deputies, it is said, are soon to be sent to confer with the other departments respecting the indemnity due to France, and to establish a federal government, or simply to form treaties of alliance: "and if," concludes the manifest, "no amicable arrangement can be effected, then we shall be under the cruel necessity of defending our rights by opposing force to force."

The Haytien flag is still retained, with the addition of a white star in the blue, to represent the "State of the North." The boundaries of this Department are those of the former kingdom of Christophe, and its line of coast extends from Fort Liberte, (formerly Fort Dauphin) 30 miles to the eastward of Cape Haytien, to St. Marc on the west; and with the above places, includes Gonaives, Port de Paix, and the Mole St. Nicolas.

About 1500 men left here on the 2d for St. Marc, by the way of Gonaives, to defend the frontiers; which, however, it is not generally supposed the President will invade, as his power is much diminished. He appears to have abandoned his expedition against the Dominicans, as they term themselves, who have therefore succeeded in their object, though still unsettled. Aux Cayes and the South are still in arms, with the ostensible purpose of supporting the Constitution, which the President has infringed, and the Dominicans rejected: though the real cause of the disturbances is said to be jealousy between the blacks and colored people. At Port au Prince there are, or were a few days since, two parties, one supporting the President, the other the Constituent Assembly; and altogether, the island is in a very complicated state of revolution, and perhaps may be said to be rather bordering on anarchy.

MATANZAS, May 6.—Arrests of those concerned in the late insurrectionary movements were being daily made. The prisons were full, and the trials progressing—about one out of every thirty being condemned to be shot. The government were using every exertion to put down the insurrection.—*Norfolk Beacon, May 13.*

From the Journal of Commerce.

LATER FROM HAYTI.

The schooner, Doty Chase, Baker, which sailed hence on the 11th April, bound to Aux Cayes, arrived off that port on the 1st instant, and when within sight of the town was spoken by a Haytien man-of-war brig, who informed Captain Baker he could not enter the port, or be permitted to land. She lay off and on for seven days, and could distinctly hear the firing between the belligerents. It was impossible to ascertain which party had possession of the town,—understood that President Herard had a force of 15,000 men, and was daily expecting a reinforcement of 10,000 more. The captain of the brig threatened to make her a prize if she attempted to enter the port, or land on the contiguous shores; but would permit her to goin to Port au Prince, or Jacmel; declining which she bore up for this port.

The following intelligence, received at Savannah and New Orleans by way of Jamaica, though not so late as that heretofore published, will be read with interest. The Kingston (Jamaica) Journal says:—

All accounts agree in stating that the blacks have, with few exceptions, practised great forbearance towards such persons as have fallen into their hands. Property has been respected, and there has been no cold-blooded murder of their colored countrymen, as many, even of their relatives themselves, anticipated—thus leaving room to hope that an adjustment of their differences may yet take place, without any unnecessary waste of human life.

The Gazette, speaking of the passengers who came in the Elizabeth, says—"The men who came by this conveyance fled to avoid being pressed to march against San Domingo, to join the president's army. By a private letter received here, we learn, that President Herard was still at Azua, with his army, and that a man named Fanfan Cadet, a native of Aux Cayes, and a mahogany cutter, had taken a sloop belonging to San Domingo under extraordinary circumstances. This man, with a loaded musket, went out in a boat on the coast of San Domingo at Azua, and on approaching the sloop, shot the captain, upon which the whole crew jumped overboard, and thus left the vessel an easy conquest to one individual. The vessel was laden with a very rich cargo, and a large quantity of specie. This courageous individual immediately steered the sloop into Azua, and delivered it up to President Herard, from whom it was subsequently retaken by a large vessel under French colors. Herard had addressed a note, in consequence of this, to Monsieur Lavesseur, the consel general from France, requiring an explanation upon this act of hostility. Soloman, his father, and son, were still at Neybe, a small village in the interior, the place to which they had been exiled."

"At Aux Cayes, it is said, that in consequence of some disrespect and incivility shown the French consul there, he had formally remonstrated with General Acao on the subject—in conjunction with the commander of the French brig of war there. Acao immediately dismissed the captain of the Port, commanding the Arondissment at Aux Cayes, Colonel Morass."

The Kingston Journal of the 30th ultimo, has the following:—

"By the schooner, L'Eugenie, two days from Jeremie, with about twenty passengers, all males, young men, we learn that Jeremie has acceded to the insurrection of Jacques Acao. Herard, the commandant of the town, had been displaced, and succeeded by General Coyemite. Jacques had called on all capable of bearing arms to join him, under severe penalties in case of disobedience, which command accounts in some measure for the number of young men arrived by the L'Eugenie. Jaques is said to maintain perfect tranquility in the insurgent provinces, extending from Aquin to "Petit Trun des Barradere," a distance of about 2.0 miles. Some atrocities had been committed in the early stages of the insurrection, but the ringleaders had been exemplarily punished—Jacques seemed determined to allow nobody but himself insurrectionary license.

"We are further given to understand that a proposition has been made by the leading Haytiens, resident, amongst us, to their young men here—at least 150 in number, to embark for Port au Prince, and render military service to the country in this its "hour of need." With the exception of fourteen, all have refused."

The Jamaica Times gives the following description of the revolutionary General Acao:

This man, who, by all accounts, possesses the sole confidence as well as authority over the blacks, is described as a perfectly illiterate person; but rather unusual for men of his class, dispensing with the signia of office, being habited in a striped jacket and trowsers, old chip hat, going barefoot, and sporting *a large pair of spurs on his heels!* Among other acts of power, he imprisoned two of the original leaders of the insurrection, General Collins and Colonel de Gerson, and ordered all the "National Guards" to meet on the Place d'Armes, introductory, it was expected, to his marching them to join the main army at St. Louis.

Selections.

MEMORIAL.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled;

The undersigned respectfully represent that various and gross errors having been discovered in the printed edition of the sixth census of the United States, the American Statistical Association appointed them a committee to investigate the matter, and to report thereon to your honorable body.

Not having reliable data with which they could compare all the details of the census, they have confined their investigations to the reports respecting education, and nosology, and herewith beg leave to communicate the results.

According to the census of 1840, there are in the United States 173 universities, or colleges, containing 16,233 students. There is good reason to suppose that the number of colleges given is almost twice as large as the true number, and that the number of students is exaggerated nearly as much. *Four* colleges, for example, are put down to Maine, which has *two*. *Four* to Massachusetts, which has *three*. *Four* to Connecticut, which has *three*, &c.

The number of colleges given for these States is just equal to the number of colleges and of theological schools, having a separate existence, taken together. Not unlikely, institutions of this latter class were indiscriminately included under the designation of colleges; although the difference between them one would suppose is clearly enough defined.

The number of colleges reported in the American Almanac for 1844, is 105, and the number of students, by which is meant undergraduates, or members of the four collegiate classes, is about 10,000.

If the statements here given were the correct results of investigations pursued on a well-digested and uniform plan, the information would be highly interesting. But it is manifest it cannot be relied on as altogether correct. In many of the States, common schools are supported by a public tax, or by funds provided by the public, for the education of all the children within the respective States. All the children, therefore, who are educated at these schools, are educated, so far as instruction is concerned, "at the public charge." Yet the following tables are taken from the census:—

VERMONT.	Inhabitants.	In free schools.
Addison county,	23,583	20
Bennington "	16,872	none.
Caledonia "	21,891	"
Chittenden "	22,977	"
Essex "	4,226	"
Franklin "	24,831	"
Grand Isle "	3,883	"
Lamoille "	10,475	"
Orleans "	13,634	"
Rutland "	30,699	"
Windsor "	40,356	"

NEW-YORK	Inhabitants.	Scholars supported at public expense.
Albany,	68,593	915
Alleghany,	40,975	0
Broome,	22,338	7
Cattaraugus,	28,872	34
Cayuga,	50,398	2990
Chatauque,	47,975	237
Chemung,	20,732	184
Chenango,	40,785	20
Clinton,	28,157	84
Courtlandt,	24,607	0
Delaware,	35,396	0
Erie,	62,465	3148
Essex,	23,634	151
Franklin,	16,518	0
Fulton,	18,049	0
Genesee,	59,587	189
Herkimer,	34,477	150
Hamilton,	1,907	0
Jefferson,	60,984	266
Lewis,	17,830	10
Livingston,	35,140	30
Munroe,	64,902	158
Madison,	40,008	77
Montgomery,	35,818	215
Niagara,	31,132	10
Onieda,	85,310	237
Onondaga,	67,911	0
Ontario,	43,501	0
Orleans,	25,127	0
Oswego,	43,619	0
Otsego,	59,628	84
Rensellaer,	60,259	982
Saratoga,	40,553	92
Schenectady,	17,387	89
Schoharie,	32,358	0
Seneca,	24,874	102
St. Lawrence,	56,706	28
Steuben,	46,138	0
Tioga,	20,527	14
Tompkins,	37,948	575
Washington,	41,080	40
Wayne,	42,057	15
Warren,	13,422	0
Yates,	20,444	0

NEW HAMPSHIRE.		
Coos,	9,849	none.
Grafton,	42,311	50
Hillboro',	42,494	30
Strafford,	61,127	none.
Sullivan,	20,340	none.

MAINE.		
Aroostook,	9,413	none.
Franklin,	20,801	296

In relation to Massachusetts, it is stated that there are "160,257 scholars in common schools," and "158,351 at public charge; and in relation to New Hampshire, where schools are supported in a similar manner, it is stated that there are "83,632 scholars in common schools," and only "7,715 at public charge."

The instance of Connecticut might also be adduced, where the munificent provisions of the school fund reaches every child in the State between the ages of four and sixteen, and is nearly sufficient to defray the cost of their instruction in the common schools. Yet, in Connecticut, according to the census, only 10,912 children are taught at public charge, out of the 65,730 in the common schools.

CONNECTICUT.	Inhabitants.	Scholars in free schools.
Fairfield,	44,917	60
Hartford,	55,720	1
Litchfield,	40,488	none
Whole State,	309,978	10,912

It is impossible for us to conjecture in what way these results were obtained.

The most glaring and remarkable errors are found in the statements respecting nosology, the prevalence of insanity, blindness, deafness, and dumbness, among the people of this nation.

The undersigned have compared these statements with information obtained from other more reliable sources, and have found them widely varying from the truth; and, more than all, they have compared the statements in one part of the census with those in another part, and have found most extraordinary discrepancies. They have also examined the original manuscript copy of the census, deposited by the marshal of the District of Massachusetts in the Clerk's office, in Boston, and have compared this with the printed editions of both Blair & Rives and Thomas Allen, and found here, too, a variance of statements.

Your memorialists are aware that some of these errors in respect to Massachusetts, and perhaps also in respect to other States, were committed by the marshals. Mr. William H. Williams, deputy marshal states that there were one hundred and thirty-three colored pauper lunatics in the family of Samuel B. Woodward, in the town of Worcester; but on another page he states that there are no colored persons in said Woodward's family. Mr. Benali Blood, deputy marshal, states, on one page, that there were fourteen colored pauper lunatics and two colored lunatics who were supported at private charge, in the family of Charles E. Parker, in the town of Pepperell, while on another page he states that there are no colored persons in the family of said Parker.—Mr. William M. Jackson states, on one page, that there are in the family of Jacob Cushman, in the town of Plympton, four pauper colored lunatics and one colored blind person, while on another page he states that there are no colored persons in the family of said Cushman. And these deputy marshals,—Williams, Blood and Jackson,—have affixed their names to these statements, and sent them to Washington and the world as facts.

But, on comparing the manuscript copy of the census at Boston with the printed edition of Blair & Rives, the undersigned are convinced that a large portion of the errors were made by the printers, and that hardly any of the errors of the original documents are left out.

The following table will exhibit the discrepancies between the statements of the original and the printed documents, and the facts as ascertained from investigation in the towns of Massachusetts respecting the colored lunatics and idiots:

	AT PRIVATE CHARGE.			AT PUBLIC CHARGE.		
TOWNS.	Original document.	Printed document.	Private inquiry.	Original document.	Printed document.	State returns.
Fairhaven,				2		
Freetown,	2	2				
Raynham,				1	1	
Swansy,				2	2	1
Wareham,				1	1	
Carver,	1	1				
Plympton,				4	4	
Hingham,	1	2				
Quincy,				1	1	
Becket,	1	1				
Westfield,	1					
West Springfield,				1	1	1
Mendon,	1					
Warren,	1	1				
Worcester,	1			133	133	2
Sterling,				2	2	
Hubbardstown,				1	1	
Leominster,	1	1		1	1	
Winchendon,	1					
Pepperell,	2	1		14		
Concord,				1	1	1
Natick,				1	1	
Salem,	1	1		2	2	1
Essex,	1	1		1	1	
Topsfield,	1					
Andover,				1		1
Pembroke,		1				
New Bedford,					2	1
Attleboro',					1	
Rochester,		1			1	1
Randolph,					1	
Sandisfield,		1			2	
Reading,					3	
Wilmington,					2	
Ashby,					1	
Georgetown,					2	
Danvers,		1			1	1
Boston,	2	2		5	5	6
Scituate,		5				
Stockbridge,		1				
Bedford,		1				
Needham,	2	2				
	20	27		174	173	16

Thus it will be seen that the original document finds the colored insane in twenty-nine towns, while the printed edition of Blair & Rives places them in thirty-five towns, and each makes them more than tenfold greater than the State returns in regard to the paupers, and one edition has given twenty, and the other twenty-seven self-supporting lunatics in towns, in which, according to private inquiry, none are to be found.

According to the original and manuscript copy of the census, there were in Massachusetts ten deaf and dumb, and eight blind colored persons, whereas the printed editions of the same document multiply them into seventeen of the former, and twenty-two of the latter class of unfortunates.

The printed copy of the census declares that there were in the towns of Hingham and Scituate, nineteen colored persons who were deaf and dumb, blind or insane. On the other hand, the undersigned are informed by the overseers of the poor and the assessors, who have cognizance of every pauper and tax-payer in the town, that in the last twelve years no such diseased persons have lived in the town of Scituate; and they have equally certain proof that none such have lived in Hingham. Moreover, the deputy marshals neither found, nor make record of such persons.

The undersigned have carefully compared the number of colored insane and idiots, and the deaf and dumb and blind, with the whole number of the colored population as stated in the printed edition of the census in every city, town and country in the United States, and have found the extraordinary contradictions and improbabilities that are shown in the following tables:—

MAINE.	Total colored inhabitants.	Colored insane.
Towns.		
Limerick,	0	4
Limington,	1	2
Scarboro',	0	6
Poland,	0	2
Dixfield,	0	4
Calais,	0	1

NEW HAMSHIRE.		
Coventry,	0	1
Haverhill,	1	1
Holderness,	0	2
Atkinson,	0	1
Bath,	0	1
Lisbon,	0	1
Compton,	1	1

MAINE.	Total colored inhabitants.	Colored insane.
Towns.		
Industry,	0	3
Dresden,	3	6
Hope,	1	2
Hartland,	0	2
Newfield,	0	5

NEW HAMSHIRE.		
Stratham,	0	1
Northampton,	0	1
N. Hampton,	0	1
Lyman,	0	1
Littleton,	0	1
Henniker,	0	1

MASSACHUSETTS.					
Freetown,	0	2	Georgetown,	1	2
Plymouth,	2	4	Carver,	1	1
Leominster,	0	2	Northbridge,	1	1
Wilmington,	0	2	Ashby,	1	1
Sterling,	0	2	Randolph,	1	1
Danvers,	0	2	Worcester,	151*	133
Hingham,	2	2			

CONNECTICUT.					
Waterford,	2	7			

VERMONT.					
Rushford,	0	1	Lyndon,	1	2
Athens,	2	2	Castleton,	4	3
Barnet,	0	1	Farhaven,	1	1

NEW-YORK.					
Conewango,	0	1	Westville,	0	1
Olean,	0	1	FrenchCreek,	0	1
Ellington,	0	5	Carroll,	0	1
Sherman,	0	1	Holland,	0	2
Barne,	10	6	Crown Point,	0	1
Shelby,	1	7	Sandy Creek,	0	1
Providence,†	3	2	Hadley,	0	1
Stockholm,	0	1	Parishville,	0	1
Chester,	0	1	Groton,	0	5
Java,	0	1	Dryden,‡	0	2
Lansing,	8	4	Great Valley,	0	1
Leon,	0	1			

NEW JERSEY.					
Stafford,	1	7			

OHIO.					
Greene, Wayne Co.	1	2	Bristol,	0	2
Ellsworth,	0	3	Lordstown,	0	1
Canfield,	1	1	Tuscarawas,	0	1
Venice,	0	1	Salem,	1	1
Thompson,	1	2	Liberty,	0	1
Vernon,	2	2	Bloomfield,	0	1
Porter,	0	1	Greenfield,	0	1
Jefferson, MadisonCo	0	1	Falls,	1	1
Sharon,	0	1	Starr,	0	2
Montgomery,	1	4	Rumley,	0	2
Vermillion,	0	1	Chester,	0	1
Greene, Richland Co	0	1	Auburn,	0	2
Hanover,	0	1	Newbury,	0	1
Munroe,	0	1	Burton,	1	1
Washington Preble Co.	0	4	Plain,	0	1
Washington Pickaway Co.	0	7	Jefferson, Franklin Co	0	1
Spencer,	1	1	Norwich,	0	1
Jefferson, Richland Co	0	1	Harrison,	0	3
Canaan,	0	1	Brickville,	1	1
Sylvania,	1	1	Brooklyn,	0	1
Amherst,	0	1	Green, Clarke Co.	1	2
Franklin,	0	1	Lewis,	7	7
			Elk,	0	1
			Alexander,	1	1
			Lenox,	0	1
			Pleasant,	12	8

INDIANA.					
Noble,	0	2	Marshall,	1	2
Owen,	0	2	Fulton,	1	1
Marion,	0	1	Bartholomew,	0	1

ILLINOIS.			
Towns.	County.	Colored Inhabitants.	Colored Insane.
Plainfield,	Will,	0	1
	Scott,	4	5
	Marshall,	0	1
	Livingston,	1	1
	Logan,	1	6
	La Salle,	2	1
Council Hill,	Jo. Davies,	0	1
Wilmington,	Greene,	0	5
Taylor,	Greene,	0	2
South Richwoods,	Greene,	0	1
Township 6, N.1E.	Fulton;	0	1
	De Kalb,	0	2
	Christian,	0	3

PENNSYLVANIA.		
Colebrookdale,	0	2
Bloomf

ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1844.

ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM AND EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

At the tenth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New-York, May 7th, 1844,—after grave deliberation, and a long and earnest discussion,—it was decided, by a vote of nearly three to one of the members present, that fidelity to the cause of human freedom, hatred of oppression, sympathy for those who are held in chains and slavery in this republic, and allegiance to God, require that the existing national compact should be instantly dissolved; that secession from the government is a religious and political duty; that the motto inscribed on the banner of freemen should be, NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS; that it is impracticable for tyrants, and the enemies of tyranny, to coalesce, and legislate together for the preservation of human rights, or the promotion of the interests of liberty; and that revolutionary ground should be occupied by all those who abhor the thought of doing evil that good may come, and who do not mean to compromise the principles of justice and humanity.

A decision involving such momentous consequences, so well calculated to startle the public mind, so hostile to the established order of things, demands of us, as the official representatives of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a statement of the reasons which led to it. This is due, not only to the society, but also to the country and the world.

It is declared by the American people, to be a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed BY THEIR CREATOR with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." It is further maintained by them, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of human rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." These doctrines the patriots of 1776 sealed with their blood. They would not brook even the menace of oppression. They held that there should be no delay in resisting, at whatever cost or peril, the first encroachments of power on their liberties. Appealing to the great Ruler of the universe for the rectitude of their course, they pledged to each other "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors," to conquer or perish in their struggle to be free.

For the example which they set to all people subjected to a despotic sway, and the sacrifices which they made, their descendants cherish their memories with gratitude, reverence their virtues, honor their deeds, and glory in their triumphs.

It is not necessary, therefore, for us to prove that a state of slavery is incompatible with the dictates of reason and humanity; or that it is lawful to throw off a government which is at war with the sacred rights of mankind.

We regard this as indeed a solemn crisis, which requires of every man sobriety of thought, prophetic forecast, independent judgment, invincible determination, and a sound heart. A revolutionary step is one that should not be taken hastily, nor followed under the influence of impulsive imitation. To know what spirit they are of, whether they have counted the cost of the warfare, what are the principles they advocate, and how they are to achieve their object, is the first duty of revolutionists.

But, while circumspection and prudence are excellent qualities in every great emergency, they become the allies of tyranny whenever they restrain prompt, bold, and decisive action against it.

We charge upon the present national compact, that it was formed at the expense of human liberty, by a profligate surrender of principle, and to this hour is cemented with human blood.

We charge upon the American Constitution, that it contains provisions and enjoins duties which make it unlawful for freemen to take the oath of allegiance to it, because they are expressly designed to favor a slaveholding oligarchy, and, consequently, to make one portion of the people a prey to another.

We charge upon the existing national government, that it is an insupportable despotism, wielded by a power which is superior to all legal and constitutional restraints, equally indisposed and unable to protect the lives or liberties of the people, the prop and safeguard of American slavery.

These charges we proceed briefly to establish:—

I. It is admitted by all men of intelligence,—or if it be denied in any quarter, the records of our national history settle the question beyond doubt,—that the American Union was effected by a compromise between the free and slaveholding States; in other words, by immolating the colored population on the altar of slavery, by depriving the North of equal rights and privileges, and by incorporating the slave system into the government. In the expressive and pertinent language of scripture, it was "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,"—null and void before God from the first hour of its inception—the framers of which were recreant to duty, and the supporters of which are equally guilty.

It was pleaded at the time of its adoption, it is pleaded now, that, without such a compromise there could have been no union; that without union, the colonies would have become an easy prey to the mother country; and, hence, that it was an act of necessity, deplorable indeed when viewed alone, but absolutely indispensible to the safety of the republic.

To this we reply: the plea is as profligate as the act was tyrannical. It is the jesuitical doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means. It is a confession of sin, but a denial of any guilt in its perpetration. It is at war with the government of God, and subversive of the foundations of morality. It is to make lies our refuge, and under falsehood to hide ourselves, so that we may escape the overflowing scourge. "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place." Moreover, "because ye trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon; therefore, this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. And he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in pieces; he shall not spare."

This plea is sufficiently broad to cover all the oppression and villany that the sun has witnessed in his circuit since God said, "Let there be light." It assumes that to be practicable which is impossible, namely, that there can be freedom with slavery, union with injustice, and safety with blood-guiltiness. A union of virtue with pollution, is the triumph of licentiousness. A partnership between right and wrong is wholly wrong. A compromise of the principles of justice is the deification of crime.

Better that the American Union had never been formed, than that it should have been obtained at such a frightful cost! If they were guilty who fashioned it, but who could not foresee its awful consequences, how much more guilty are they who, in full view of all that has resulted from it, now clamor for its perpetuity! If it was sinful at the commencement to adopt it on the ground of escaping a greater evil, is it not equally sinful to swear to support it for the same reason, or, until in process of time it be purged from its corruption?

The fact is, the compromise alluded to, instead of effecting a union, rendered it impracticable; unless by the term union, we are to understand the absolute sway of the slaveholding power over the whole country, to the prostration of northern rights. In the just use of words, the American Union is, and always has been, a sham—an imposture—an instrument of cruelty and oppression, unsurpassed in the criminal history of the world. How, then, can it be innocently sustained? It is not certain, it is not even probable, that if it had not been adopted, the mother country would have reconquered the colonies. The spirit that would have chosen danger in preference to crime—to perish with justice, rather than live with dishonor—to dare and suffer whatever might betide, rather than sacrifice the rights of one human being—could never have been subjugated by any mortal power. Surely, it is paying a poor tribute to the valor and devotion of our revolutionary fathers in the cause of liberty, to say that, if they had sternly refused to sacrifice their principles, they would have fallen an easy prey to the despotic power of England.

II. The American Constitution is the exponent of the national compact. We affirm that it is an instrument which no man can innocently bind himself to support, because its anti-republican, and antichristian requirements, are explicit and peremptory;—at least, so explicit that, in regard to all the clauses pertaining to slavery, they have been uniformly understood and enforced in the same way, by all the courts, and by all the people; and so peremptory, that no individual interpretation or authority can set them aside with impunity. It is not a ball of clay, to be moulded into any shape that party contrivance or caprice may choose it to assume. It is not a form of words, to be interpreted in any manner, or to any extent, or for the accomplishment of any purpose that individuals in office under it may determine. *It means precisely what those who framed and adopted it meant*—NOTHING MORE, NOTHING LESS, *as a matter of bargain and compromise.* Even if it can be construed to mean something else, without violence to its language, such construction is not to be tolerated *against the views or wishes of either party.* No just or honest use of it can be made, in opposition to the plain intention of its framers, *except to declare the contract at an end, and to refuse to serve under it.*

To the argument, that the words "slaves" and "slavery," are not to be found in the Constitution, and therefore that it was never intended to give any protection or countenance to the slave system, it is sufficient to reply, that though no such words are contained in that instrument, other words were used, intelligently and specifically, TO MEET THE NECESSITIES OF SLAVERY; and that these were adopted *in good faith, to be observed until a constitutional change could be effected.* On this point, as to the design of certain provisions, no intelligent man can honestly entertain a doubt.

If it be objected, that though these provisions were meant to cover slavery, yet, as they can fairly be interpreted to mean something exactly the reverse, it is allowable to give to them such an interpretation, *especially as the cause of freedom will thereby be promoted*—we reply, that this is to advocate fraud and violence toward one of the contracting parties, *whose co-operation was secured only by an express agreement and understanding between them both, in regard to the clauses alluded to;* and that such a construction, if enforced by pains and penalties, would unquestionably lead to a civil war, in which the aggrieved party would justly claim to have been betrayed, and robbed of their constitutional rights.

Again, if it be said, that those clauses, being immoral, are null and void—we reply, it is true they are not to be observed; but it is also true that they are portions of an instrument, the support of which, AS A WHOLE, is required by oath, or affirmation; and, therefore, *because they are immoral,* and BECAUSE OF THIS OBLIGATION TO ENFORCE IMMORALITY, no one can innocently swear to support the Constitution.

Again, if it be objected that the Constitution was formed by the people of the United States, in order to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity; and, therefore, it is to be so construed as to harmonize with these objects; we reply, again, that its language is *not to be interpreted in a sense which neither of the contracting parties understood,* and which would frustrate the very design of their alliance—to wit, *union at the expense of the colored population of the country.* Moreover, nothing is more certain than that the preamble alluded to never included, in the minds of those who framed it, *those who were then pining in bondage*—for, in that case, a general emancipation of the slaves would have instantly been proclaimed throughout the United States. The words "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," assuredly meant only the white population. "To promote the general welfare," referred to their own welfare exclusively. "To establish justice," was understood to be for their sole benefit as slaveholders, and the guilty abettors of slavery. This is demonstrated by other parts of the same instrument, and by their own practice under it. We would not detract aught from what is justly their due; but it is as reprehensible to give them credit for *what they did not possess,* as it is to rob them of what is theirs. It is absurd, it is false, it is an insult to the common sense of mankind, to pretend that the Constitution was intended to embrace the entire population of the country under its sheltering wings; or that the parties to it were actuated by a sense of justice and the spirit of impartial liberty; or that it needs no alteration, but only a new interpretation, to make it harmonize with the object aimed at by its adoption. As truly might it be argued, that because it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and endowed with an inalienable right to liberty, therefore none of its signers were slaveholders, and since its adoption, slavery has been banished from the American soil! The truth is, our fathers were intent on securing liberty *to themselves,* without being very scrupulous as to the means they used to accomplish their purpose. They were not animated by the spirit of universal philanthropy; and though *in words* they recognized occasionally the brotherhood of the human race, *in practice* they continually denied it. They did not blush to enslave a portion of their fellow-men, and to buy and sell them as cattle in the market, while they were fighting against the oppression of the mother country, and boasting of their regard for the rights of man. Why, then, concede to them virtues which they did not possess? *Why cling to the falsehood, that they were no respecters of persons in the formation of the government?* Alas! that they had no more fear of God, no more regard for man, in their hearts! "The iniquity or the house of Israel and Judah [the North and South] is exceeding great, and the land is full of blood, and the city full of perverseness, for they say, "The Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth not."

We proceed to a critical examination of the American Constitution, in its relations to slavery.

IN ARTICLE I. Section 9, it is declared—"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

In this section, it will be perceived, the phraseology is so guarded as not to imply, *ex necessitate,* any criminal intent or inhuman arrangement; and yet no one has ever had the hardihood or folly to deny, that it was clearly understood, by the contracting parties, to mean that there should be no interference with the African slave-trade, on the part of the general government, until the year 1808. For twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution, the citizens of the United States were to be encouraged, and protected in the prosecution of that infernal traffic—in sacking and burning the hamlets of Africa—in slaughtering multitudes of the inoffensive natives on the soil, kidnapping and enslaving a still greater proportion, crowding them to suffocation in the holds of the slave ships, populating the Atlantic with their dead bodies, and subjecting the wretched survivors to all the horrors of unmitigated bondage! This awful covenant was strictly fulfilled; and though, since its termination, Congress has declared the foreign slave traffic to be piracy, yet all Christendom knows that the American flag, instead of being the terror of the African slavers, has given them the most ample protection.

The manner in which the 9th section was agreed to, by the national convention that formed the Constitution, is thus frankly avowed by the Hon. Luther Martin,* who was a prominent member of that body:

"The *eastern members,* notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, (!) were *very willing* to indulge the southern States at least with temporary liberty to prosecute the slave-trade, *provided* the southern States would, in their turn, gratify them by laying no restriction on navigation acts; and, after a very little time, the committee, by a great majority, agreed on a report, by which the general government was to be *prohibited from preventing the importation of slaves for a limited time;* and the restrictive clause relative to navigation acts was to be omitted."

Behold the iniquity of this agreement! how sordid were the motives which led to it! what a profligate disregard of justice and humanity, on the part of those who had solemnly declared the inalienable right of all men to be free and equal, to be a self-evident truth!

It is due to the national convention to say, that this section was not adopted "without considerable opposition." Alluding to it, Mr. Martin observes—

"It was said we had just assumed a place among independent nations, in consequence of our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to enslave us; that this opposition was grounded upon the preservation of those rights to which God and nature had entitled us, not in particular, but in common with all the rest of mankind; that we had appealed to the Supreme Being for his assistance as the God of freedom, who could not but approve our efforts to preserve the rights which he had thus imparted to his creatures; that now, when we had scarcely risen from our knees, from supplicating his mercy and protection in forming our government over a free people, a government formed pretendedly on the principles of liberty, and for its preservation,—in that government to have a provision, not only of putting out of its power to restrain and prevent the slave-trade, but *even encouraging that most infamous traffic,* by giving the States the power and influence in the Union, in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sported with the rights of their fellow-creatures, ought to be considered as *a solemn mockery of, and an insult to, that God* whose protection we had thus implored, and *could not fail to hold us up in detestation, and render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world.* It was said that national crimes can only be, and frequently are, punished in this world by national punishments; and that the continuance of the slave-trade, and thus giving it A NATIONAL CHARACTER, sanction and encouragement, ought to be considered as justly exposing us to the displeasure and vengeance of Him who is equally the Lord of all, and who views with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master!†

"It was urged that, by this system, we are giving the general government full and absolute power to regulate commerce, under which general power it would have a right to restrain, or totally prohibit, the slave-trade: it must, therefore, appear to the world absurd and disgraceful to the last degree, that we should except from the exercise of that power, *the only branch of commerce which is unjustifiable in its nature, and contrary to the rights of mankind.* That, on the contrary, we ought to prohibit expressly, in our Constitution, the further importation of slaves, and to authorize the general government, from time to time, to make such regulations as shall be thought most advantageous to the gradual abolition of slavery, and the emancipation of slaves already in the States. That slavery is inconsistent with the genius of republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates to tyranny and oppression.

"It was further urged that, by this system of government, *every State is to be protected,* both from foreign invasion and *from domestic insurrection;* and from this consideration, it was of the utmost importance it should have the power to restrain the importation of slaves, since in proportion as the number of slaves increased in any State, in the same proportion is the State weakened and exposed to foreign invasion and domestic insurrection; and by so much less will it be able to protect itself against either, and therefore by so much, *want aid from, and be a burden to, the Union.*

"It was further said, that, in this system, as we were giving the general government power, under the idea of national character or national interest, to regulate *even our weights and measures,* and have prohibited all possibility of emitting paper money, and passing insolvent laws, &c. it must appear still more extraordinary that WE PROHIBITED THE GOVERNMENT FROM INTERFERING WITH THE SLAVE-TRADE, *than which nothing could more affect our national honor and interest.*

"These reasons influenced me, (says Mr. Martin,) both in the committee and in the convention, most decidedly to oppose and vote against the clause, as it now makes part of the system.";

Happy had it been for this nation, had these solemn considerations been heeded by the framers of the Constitution! But, for the sake of securing some local advantages, they chose to do evil that good might come, and to make the end sanctify the means. They were willing to enslave others, that they might secure their own freedom. They did this deed deliberately, with their eyes open, with all the facts and consequences arising therefrom before them, in violation of all their heaven-attested declarations, and in atheistical distrust of the over-ruling power of God. "The eastern members were very willing to *indulge* the southern States" in the unrestricted prosecution of this piratical traffic, provided, in return they could be gratified by no restriction being laid on navigation acts!! Had there been no other provision of the Constitution justly liable to objection, this one alone rendered the support of that instrument incompatible with the duties which men owe to their Creator, and to each other. It was the poisonous infusion in the cup, which, though constituting but a very slight portion of its contents, perilled the life of every one who partook of it.

If it be asked, to what purpose are these animadversions, since the clause alluded to has long since expired by its own limitation—we answer, that, if at any time the foreign slave-trade could be *constitutionally* prosecuted, it may yet be renewed under the Constitution, at the pleasure of Congress, whose prohibitory statute is liable to be reversed at any moment in the frenzy of southern opposition to emancipation. It is ignorantly supposed that the bargain was, that the traffic *should cease* in 1808; but the only thing secured by it was, the *right* of Congress (not any obligation) to prohibit it at that period. If, therefore, Congress had not chosen to exercise that right, *the traffic might have been prolonged indefinitely, under the Constitution.* The right to destroy any particular branch of commerce implies the right to re-establish it. True, there is no probability that the African slave-trade will ever again be legalized by the national government; but no credit is due to the framers of the Constitution on this ground; for, while they threw around it all the sanction and protection of the national character and power for twenty years, they *set no bounds to its continuance by any positive constitutional prohibition.*

Again, the adoption of such a clause, and the faithful execution of it, prove what was meant by the words of the preamble—"to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"—viz: that the parties to the Constitution regarded only their own rights and interests, and never intended that its language should be so interpreted as to interfere with slavery, or to make it unlawful for one portion of the people to enslave another, *without an express alteration of that instrument, in the manner therein set forth.* While, therefore, the Constitution remains as it was originally adopted, they who swear to support it are bound to comply with all its provisions, as a matter of allegiance. For it avails nothing to say, that some of those provisions are at war with the law of God and the rights of man, and therefore are not obligatory. Whatever may be their character, they are *constitutionally* obligatory; and whoever feels that he cannot execute them, or swear to execute them, without committing sin, has no other choice left than to withdraw from the government, or to violate his conscience by taking on his lips an impious promise. The object of the Constitution is—not to define *what is the law of God,* but WHAT IS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE—which will is not to be frustrated by an ingenious moral interpretation, by those whom they have elected to serve them.

ARTICLE I. Section 2, provides—"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of *free persons,* including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*"

*Speech before the legislature of Maryland, in 1787.

†How terribly and justly has this guilty nation been scourged since these words were spoken, on account of slavery and the slave-trade!

‡Secret proceedings, p. 64.

Here, as in the clause we have already examined, veiled beneath a form of words as deceitful as it is unmeaning in a truly democratic government, is a provision for the safety, perpetuity, and augmentation of the slaveholding power—a provision scarcely less atrocious than that which related to the African slave-trade, and almost as afflictive in its operation—a provision still in force, with no possibility of its alteration so long as a majority of the slave States, choose to maintain their slave system—a provision which, at the present time, enables the South to have twenty-five additional representatives in Congress on the score of *property,* while the North is not allowed to have one—a provision which concedes to the oppressed three-fifths of the political power which is granted to all others, and then puts this power into the hands of their oppressors, to be wielded by them for the more perfect security of their tyrannous authority, and the complete subjugation of the non-slaveholding States!"

Referring to this atrocious bargain, ALEXANDER HAMILTON remarked, in the New-York convention—

"The first thing objected to is the clause that allows a representation for three-fifths of the negroes. Much has been said of the impropriety of representing men who have no will of their own: whether this is reasoning or declamation, (!) I will not presume to say. It is the *unfortunate* situation of the southern States to have a great part of their population, as well as *property,* in blacks. The regulation complained of was one result of *the spirit of accommodation* [i. e. disregard of justice] which governed the convention; and *without this indulgence,* NO UNION COULD HAVE BEEN FORMED. But, sir, considering some of the *peculiar advantages* which WE derive from them, *it is entirely just they should be gratified.(!!)*—The southern States possess certain staples,—tobacco, rice, indigo, &c. which must be capital objects in treaties of commerce with foreign nations; and the advantages which they necessarily procure in these treaties will be felt throughout the United States."

If such was the patriotism, such the love of liberty, such the morality of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, what can be said of the character of those who were far less conspicuous than himself in securing American independence, and in framing the American Constitution?

Listen, now, to the opinions of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, respecting the constitutional clause under consideration:

"In outward show, it is a representation of persons in bondage; in fact, it is a representation of their masters,—the oppressor representing the oppressed."—"Is it in the compass of human imagination to devise a more perfect exemplification of the act of committing the lamb to the tender custody of the wolf."—"The representation is thus constituted, not the friend, agent and trustee of the person whom he represents, but the most inveterate of his foes."—"If there be a parallel to it in human history, it can only be that of the Roman emperors, who, from the days when Julius Cæsar substituted a military despotism in the place of a republic, among the offices which they always concentrated upon themselves, was that of the tribune of the people. A Roman emperor tribune of the people, is an exact parallel to that feature in the Constitution of the United States, which makes the master the representative of his slave."—"The Constitution expressly prescribes, that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. The spirit of this interdict is not a rooted antipathy to the grant of mere powerless empty *titles,* but to titles of *nobility;* to the institution of privileged orders of men. But what order of men, UNDER THE MOST ABSOLUTE OF MONARCHIES, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the Chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion." "This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, *than any order of nobility ever known.* To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. To call it an aristocracy, is to do injustice to that form of government. Aristocracy is the government of *the best.* Its standard qualification for accession to power is *merit,* ascertained by popular election recurring at short intervals of time. If even that government is prone to degenerate into tyranny, what must be the character of that form of polity in which the standard qualification for access to power is wealth in the possession of slaves? It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. *There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it*—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States *by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons.* Little did the members of the convention from the free States foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—"The House of Representatives of the United States consists of 223 members—all, by the *letter* of the Constitution, representatives only of *persons,* as 135 of them really are; but the other 88, equally representing the *persons* of their constituents, by whom they are elected, also represent, under the name of *other persons,* upwards of two and a half millions of *slaves,* held as the *property* of less than half a million of the white constituents, and valued at twelve hundred millions of dollars. Each of these 88 members represents in fact the whole of that mass of associated wealth, and the persons and exclusive interests of its owners; all thus knit together, like the members of a moneyed corporation, with a capital not of thirty-five or forty, or fifty, but of twelve hundred millions of dollars, *exhibiting the most extraordinary exemplification of the anti-republican tendencies of associated wealth that the world ever saw.*"—"Here is one class of men, consisting of not more than one-fortieth part of the whole people, not more than one thirtieth part of the free population, exclusively devoted to their personal interests identified with their own as slaveholders of the same associated wealth, and wielding by their votes, upon every question of government or of public policy, two-fifths of the whole power of the House. In the Senate of the Union, the proportion of slaveholding power is yet greater. By the influence of slavery, in the States where the institution is tolerated, over their elections, no other than a slaveholder can rise to the distinction of obtaining a seat in the Senate; and thus, of the 52 members of the federal Senate, 26 *are owners of slaves,* and as effectively representatives of that interest as the 88 members elected by them to the House."—"By this process it is that all political power in the States is absorbed and engrossed by the owners of *slaves,* and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their domination. *The legislative, executive, and judicial authorities are all in their hands*—the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of the black code of slavery—every law of the legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave; every executive act a rivet to his hapless fate; every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of *wrong.*"—"Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make *the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the national government.*"—"The result is seen in the fact that, at this day, the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and five out of nine of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial courts of the United States, are not only citizens of slaveholding States, but individual slaveholders themselves. So are, and constantly have been, with scarcely an exception, all the members of both Houses of Congress from the slaveholding States; and so are, in immensely disproportionate numbers, the commanding officers of the army and navy; the officers of the customs; the registers and receivers of the land offices, and the postmasters throughout the slaveholding States. The Biennial Register indicates the birthplace of all the officers employed in the government of the Union. If it were required to designate the owners of this species of property among them, it would be little more than a catalogue of slaveholders."*

It is confessed by Mr. Adams, alluding to the national convention that framed the Constitution, that "the delegation from the free States, in their extreme anxiety to conciliate the ascendency of the southern slaveholders, *did listen to a compromise between right and wrong—between freedom and slavery;* of the ultimate fruits of which they had no conception, but which already even now is urging the Union to its inevitable ruin and dissolution, by a civil, servile, foreign, and Indian war, all combined in one; a war, the essential issue of which will be between freedom and slavery, and in which the unhallowed standard of slavery will be the desecrated banner of the North American Union—that banner, first unfurled to the breeze, inscribed with the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence."

Hence, to swear to support the Constitution of the United States, *as it is,* is to make "a compromise between right and wrong," and to wage war against human liberty. It is to recognize and honor as republican legislators, *incorrigible men-stealers,* MERCILESS TYRANTS, BLOOD THIRSTY ASSASSINS, who legislate with deadly weapons about their persons, such as pistols, daggers, and bowie-knives, with which they threaten to murder any northern senator or representative who shall dare to stain their *honor,* or interfere with their *rights!* They constitute a banditti more fierce and cruel, than any whose atrocities are recorded on the pages of history or romance. To mix with them on terms of social or religious fellowship, is to indicate a low state of virtue; but to think of administering a free government by their co-operation, is nothing short of insanity.

ARTICLE IV. Section 2, declares—"No person held to service or labor in one State, *under the laws thereof,* escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Here is a third clause, which, like the other two, makes no mention of slavery or slaves, in express terms; and yet, like them, was intelligently framed and mutually understood by the parties to the ratification, and intended both to protect the slave system and to restore runaway slaves. It alone, makes slavery a national institution, a national crime, and all the people who are not enslaved, the body-guard over those whose liberties have been cloven down. This agreement, too, has been fulfilled to the letter by the North.

Under the Mosaic dispensation, it was imperatively commanded—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell will thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." The warning which the prophet Isaiah gave to oppressing Moab was of a similar kind:—"Take counsel, execute judgment; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon day; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." The prophet Obadiah brings the following charge against treacherous Edom, which is precisely applicable to this guilty nation—"For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off forever. In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, *even thou wast as one of them.* But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah, in the day of their destruction; neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly, in the day of distress. *Neither shouldest thou have stood in the crossway, to cut off those of his that did escape; neither shouldest thou have delivered up those of his that did remain in the day of distress.*" How exactly descriptive of this boasted republic is the impeachment of Edom, by the same prophet!—"The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee, thou whose habitation is high; that saith in thy heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground?—Though thou exalt thyself as the *eagle,* and though thou set thy nest among the *stars,* thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord." The emblem of American pride and power is the *eagle,* and on her banner she has mingled *stars* with its *stripes.* Her vanity, her treachery, her oppression, her self-exaltation, and her defiance of the Almighty, far surpass the madness and wickedness of Edom. What shall be her punishment? Truly, it may be affirmed of the American people, (who live not under the Levitical but Christain code, and whose guilt, therefore, is the more awful, and their condemnation the greater,) in the language of another prophet—"They all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire: *so they wrap it up.*" Likewise, of the colored inhabitants of this land it may be said—"this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison-houses; they are for a prey, and none delivereth, for a spoil, and none saith, Restore."

By this stipulation, the northern States are made the hunting grounds of slave-catchers, who may pursue their victims with bloodhounds, and capture them with impunity wherever they can lay their robber hands upon them. At least twelve or fifteen thousand runaway slaves are now in Canada, exiled from their native land, because they could not find, throughout its vast extent, a single nook on which they could dwell in safety, *in consequence of this provision of the Constitution!* How is it possible, then, for the advocates of liberty to support a government which gives over to destruction one-sixth part of the whole population?

It is denied by some at the present day, that the clause which has been cited, was intended to apply to runaway slaves. This indicates either ignorance or folly, or something worse. JAMES MADISON, as one of the framers of the Constitution, is of some authority on this point. Alluding to that instrument in the Virginia convention, he said—

"Another clause *secures us that property which we now possess.* ☞ At present, [under the old confederacy,] if any slave elopes to those States whose slaves are free, *he becomes emancipated by their laws;* ☜ for the laws of the States are *uncharitable* (!) to one another in this respect. But in this Constitution, 'no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' ☞ THIS CLAUSE WAS EXPRESSLY INSERTED TO ENABLE OWNERS OF SLAVES TO RECLAIM THEM. *This is a better security than any that now exists.* No power is given to the general government to interfere with respect to the property in slaves now held by the States."

In the same convention, alluding to the same clause, General RANDOLPH said—

"Every one knows that slaves are held to service or labor. And, when authority is given to owners of slaves to vindicate their property, can they be deprived of it? If a citizen of this State, *in consequence of this clause,* can take his runaway slave in Maryland, can it be seriously thought that, after taking him, and bringing him home, he could be made free?"

The case is too plain to admit of doubt. This clause was never intended for the arrest or return of those who had made and violated civil contracts; nor does it apply to them. Nor was it made to cover the cases of criminals; for the preceding clause of the same section declares—"A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime." *It was made for the arrest and recovery of fugitive slaves.* It is objected, that slaves are held as property, and therefore as the clause refers to *persons,* it cannot mean slaves. But this is criticism against fact. Slaves are recognized not merely as property, but also as persons—as having a mixed character—as combining the human with the brutal. This is paradoxical, we admit; but slavery is a paradox—the American Constitution is a paradox—the American Union is a paradox—the American government is a paradox; and if any one of these is to be repudiated, on that ground they all are. That it is the duty of the friends of freedom to deny the binding authority of them all, and to secede from them all, we distinctly affirm. After the independence of this country had been achieved, the voice of God exhorted the people, saying, "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother: and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart." But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear; yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone."—"Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

Whatever doubt may have rested on any honest mind respecting the meaning of the clause in relation to persons held to service or labor, must have been removed by the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Prigg versus the State of Pennsylvania. By that decision, any southern slave-catcher is empowered to seize and convey to the South, by force and arms, without hindrance or molestation on the part of the State, and without any legal process duly obtained and served, any person or persons, irrespective of caste or complexion, whom he may choose to claim as runaway slaves; and if, when thus surprised and attacked, or on their arrival South, they cannot prove by legal witnesses that they are freemen, their doom is sealed! Hence, the free colored population of the North are specially liable to become the victims of this terrible power, and all the other inhabitants are at the mercy of prowling kidnappers, because there are multitudes of white as well as black slaves on southern plantations, and slavery is no longer fastidious in regard to the color of its prey.

As soon as that appalling decision of the Supreme Court was enunciated, in the name of the Constitution, the people of the North should have risen *en masse,* if for no other cause, and declared the Union at an end: and they would have done so, if they had not lost their manhood, and their reverence for justice and liberty.

In the 4th Section of Article IV. "every State in this Union" is guaranteed protection by the United States "against *domestic violence.*" By the 8th Section of Article I. Congress is empowered "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, *suppress insurrections,* and repel invasions." These provisions, however strictly they may apply to cases of disturbance among the white population, were adopted with reference to the slave population, for the purpose of keeping them in their chains by the combined military force of the country; and were these repealed, and the South left to manage her slaves as best she could, a servile insurrection would ere long be the consequence, as general as it would unquestionably be successful. Says Mr. Madison, respecting these clauses—

"On application of the legislature or executive, as the case may be, the militia of the other States are to be called to suppress domestic insurrections. Does this bar the States from calling forth their own militia? No! but it gives them a *supplementary* security to suppress insurrections and domestic violence."

In answer to Patrick Henry's objection, as urged against the Constitution in the Virginia convention, that there was no power left to the *States* to quell an insurrection of slaves, for it was wholly vested in Congress, George Nicholas asked—

"Have they it now? If they have, does the Constitution take it away? If it does, it must be in one of those clauses which have been mentioned by the worthy member. The first part gives the general government power to call them out when necessary. Does this take it away from the States? No; but it *gives an additional security;* for, besides the power in the State government to use their own militia, it will be *the duty of the general government to aid them* WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE UNION, when called for."

This solemn guaranty of security to the slave system caps the climax of national barbarity, and stains with human blood the garments of all the people. In consequence of it, that system has multiplied its victims from five hundred thousand to nearly three millions—a vast amount of new territory has been purchased, in order to give it extension and perpetuity—several new slave States have been admitted to the Union—the slave-trade has been made one of the great branches of American commerce—the slave population, though overworked, starved, lacerated, branded, maimed, and subjected to every form of deprivation, and every species of torture, have been overawed and crushed—or, whenever they have attempted to gain their liberty by revolt, they have been shot down and quelled by the strong arm of the national government; as, for example, in the case of Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia, when the naval and military forces of the government were called into active service. Cuban bloodhounds have been purchased with the money of the people, and imported and used to hunt slave fugitives among the everglades of Florida. A merciless warfare has been waged for the extermination or expulsion of the Florida Indians, because they gave succor to those poor hunted fugitives—a warfare which has cost the nation several thousand lives, and forty millions of dollars. But the catalogue of enormities is too long to be recapitulated in the present address.

We have thus demonstrated, that the compact between the North and the South, embraces every variety of wrong and outrage, is at war with God and man, cannot be innocently supported, and deserves to be immediately annulled. In behalf of the society which we represent, we call upon all our fellow-citizens who believe it is right to obey God rather than man, to declare themselves peaceful revolutionists, and to unite with us under the stainless banner of Liberty, having for its motto—"EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL—NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

It is pleaded that the Constitution provides for its own amendment; and we ought to use the elective franchise to effect this object. True, there is such a proviso; but, until the amendment be made, that instrument is binding as it stands. Is it not to violate every moral instinct, and to sacrifice principle to expediency, to argue, that we may swear to steal, oppress, and murder by wholesale, because it may be necessary to do so only for the time being, and because there is some remote probability that the instrument which requires that we should be robbers, oppressors, and murderers, may at some future day be amended in these particulars? Let us not palter with our consciences in this manner—let us not deny that the compact was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity—let us not be so dishonest, even to promote a good object, as to interpret the Constitution in a manner utterly at variance with the intentions and arrangements of the contracting parties; but, confessing the guilt of the nation

be undone. That is the first thought." No, it was the last thing they thought of: or, rather, it never entered their minds at all. They sprang to the conclusion at once—"*What is done* SHALL *be undone.* That is our FIRST and ONLY *thought.*"

"Is water running in our veins? Do we remember still
Old Plymouth rock, and Lexington, and famous Bunker Hill?
The debt we owe our fathers' graves? and to the yet unborn,
Whose heritage ourselves must make a thing of pride or scorn?

Gray Plymouth rock hath yet a tongue, and Concord is not dumb;
And voices from our fathers' graves, and from the future come:
They call on us to stand our ground—they charge us still to be
Not only free from chains ourselves, but foremost to make free!"

It is of little consequence who is on the throne, if there be behind it a power mightier than the throne. It matters not what is the theory of the government, if the practice of the government be unjust and tyrannical! We rise in rebellion against a despotism, incomparably more dreadful than that which induced the colonists to take up arms against the mother country; not on account of a three-penny tax on tea, but because fetters of living iron are fastened on the limbs of millions of our countrymen, and our most sacred rights are trampled in the dust. As citizens of the State, we appeal to the State in vain for protection and redress. As citizens of the United States, we are treated as outlaws in one half of the country, and the national government consents to our destruction. We are denied the right of locomotion, freedom of speech, the right of petition, the liberty of the press, the right peaceably to assemble together to protest against oppression and plead for liberty—at least in thirteen States of the Union. If we venture, as avowed and unflinching abolitionists, to travel south of Mason and Dixon's line, we do so at the peril of our lives. If we would escape torture and death, on visiting any of the slave States, we must stifle our conscientious convictions, bear no testimony against cruelty and tyranny, suppress the struggling emotions of humanity, divest ourselves of all letters and papers of an anti-slavery character, and do homage to the slaveholding power—or run the risk of a cruel martyrdom! These are appalling and undeniable facts.

Three millions of the people are crushed under the American Union! They are held as slaves—trafficked as merchandize—registered as goods and chattels! The government gives them no protection—the government is their enemy—the government keeps them in chains! Where they lie bleeding, we are prostrate by their side—in their sorrows and sufferings, we participate—their stripes are inflicted on our bodies, their shackles are fastened on our limbs, their cause is ours! The Union which grinds them to the dust rests upon us, and with them we will struggle to overthrow it! The Constitution which subjects them to a hopeless bondage, is one that we cannot swear to support! Our motto is—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"—none religiously, none politically. They are the fiercest enemies of mankind, and the bitterest foes of God! We separate from them not in anger, not in malice, not for a selfish purpose, not to do them an injury, not to cease warring, exhorting, reproving them for their crimes, not to leave the perishing bondman to his fate—O, no! But to clear our skirts of innocent blood—to give the oppressor no countenance—to signify our abhorrence of injustice and cruelty—to testify against an ungodly compact—to cease striking hands with thieves, and consenting with adulterers—to make no compromise with tyranny—to walk worthily with our high profession—to increase our moral power over the nation—to obey God and vindicate the people of his Son—to hasten the downfall of slavery in America, and throughout the world!

We are not acting under a blind impulse. We have carefully counted the cost of this warfare, and are prepared to meet its consequences. It will subject us to fresh reproach, persecution, infamy—it will prove a fiery ordeal to all who shall pass through it—it may cost us our lives. We shall be ridiculed as fools, scorned as visionaries, branded as disorganizers, reviled as madmen, threatened and perhaps punished as traitors. But we shall bide our time. Whether safety or peril, whether victory or defeat, whether life or death, be ours, believing that our feet are planted on an eternal foundation, that our position is sublime and glorious, that our faith in God is rational and steadfast, that we have exceeding great and precious promises on which to rely, THAT WE ARE IN THE RIGHT, we shall not falter, nor be dismayed, "though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea"—though our ranks be thinned even to the number of "three hundred men." Freemen! are you ready for the conflict? Come what may, will you sever the chain that binds you to a slaveholding government, and declare your independence? Up, then, with the banner of revolution! Not to shed blood—not to injure the person or estate of any oppressor—not by force and arms to resist any law—not to countenance a servile insurrection—not to wield any carnal weapons! No—ours must be a bloodless strife, excepting our own blood be shed—for we aim, as did Christ, our leader, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them—to overcome evil with good—to conquer through suffering for righteousness' sake—to set the captive free by the potency of truth!

Secede, then, from the government. Submit to its exactions, but pay it no allegiance, and give it no voluntary aid. Fill no offices under it. Send no senators or representatives to the national or State legislature; for, what you cannot conscientiously perform yourself, you cannot ask another to perform as your agent. Circulate the pledge of DISUNION FROM SLAVEHOLDERS, throughout the country. Hold mass meetings—assemble in conventions—nail your banners to the mast!

Do you ask, what can be done if you abandon the ballot-box? What did the crucified Nazarene do without the elective franchise? What did his apostles do? What did the glorious array of martyrs and confessors do? What did Luther and his intrepid associates do? What can women and children do? .What has Father MATHEW done for teetotalism? What has DANIEL O'CONNELL done for Irish repeal? "Stand, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness," and arrayed in the whole armor of God!

The form of government that shall succeed the present government of the United States, let time determine. It would be a waste of time to argue that question, until the people are regenerated and turned from their iniquity. Ours is no anarchical movement, but one of order and obedience. In ceasing from oppression, we establish liberty. What is now fragmentary, shall in due time be crystalized, and shine like a gem set in the heavens for a light to all coming ages.

Finally, we believe that the effect of this movement will be—

First, to create discussion and agitation throughout the North; and these will lead to a general perception of its grandeur and importance.

Secondly, to convulse the slumbering South like an earthquake, and convince her that her only alternative is, to abolish slavery, or be abandoned by that power on which she now relies for safety.

Thirdly, to attack the slave power in its most vulnerable point, and to carry the battle to the gate.

Fourthly, to exalt the moral sense, increase the moral power, and invigorate the moral constitution of all who heartily espouse it.

We reverently believe that, in withdrawing from the American Union, we have the God of justice with us. We know that we have our enslaved countrymen with us. We are confident that all free hearts will be with us. We are certain that tyrants and their abettors will be against us.

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries.*
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, }

Boston, May 20, 1844.

REMOVAL.

The rooms of the American Anti-Slavery Society are now at 142 Nassau street, one door from those heretofore occupied as the offices.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1844.

THE STANDARD.

The committee to whose care the charge of conducting the Standard has been confided for the present, by the Executive Committee, feel it due to themselves, to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to the readers of the paper, to state briefly their views of the duties they have assumed and of the manner in which they propose to discharge them. The position in which we find ourselves is one which we have neither sought nor desired. We have consented to occupy it, with great reluctance, only because it is believed by the Executive Committee, and by many of the most active, and zealous members of the Society, to be the best arrangement that can be made under existing circumstances. We have nothing to gain, as the world calls gain, by the office we have undertaken. We may use it neither for our own advantage, nor the aggrandizement of any party or sect. We can expect neither glory, nor power, nor wealth from our labors. We accept this task, thus presented to us, because we feel it to be the privilege as well as the duty of every faithful abolitionist, to do what he can for the extermination of slavery—to pour cheerfully whatever God has given him—be it money, or talent, or leisure,—into the treasury of the slave. We look for no reward, but the consciousness of having honestly endeavored to do our duty. We shall be satisfied if we may relieve ourselves in some measure from the mountain-load of obligation towards our enslaved countrymen, which sits heavy on the souls of every man and woman in the land. We shall ever hold ourselves ready joyfully to retire, at any moment, to give place to a more worthy successor.

The Standard is the property of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It was established, and is maintained, by the society, as the organ by which its doctrines and its policy may be explained, defended, and enforced. It is the instrument by which the society expresses its sense of the duties its members owe, in common with all the people, towards the American slave, and explains its method of attempting his deliverance. Its proper business is to give utterance to the ascertained opinions of its owners, and to urge that system of measures or course of action they have adopted as most conducive to the attainment of their end. We shall endeavor to make the Standard the true exponent of the opinions and of the policy of the society, as indicated by itself. In doing this, it is scarcely necessary to say that we do but express our own opinions, and enforce a line of conduct we should ourselves adopt, if the American Society had no existence. We accept the philosophy of anti-slavery reform of that society, as expressed at its annual assemblies, as the true philosophy, and adopt the measures it employs as those which, used in good faith and with a resolute purpose, are destined to effect the overthrow of slavery.

The object of the American Anti-Slavery Society is to procure the immediate and unconditional abolition of American slavery without the expatriation of the slaves. It is made up of individuals of every imaginable shade of political and religious belief, who agree with one another on this point, and agree to differ on all others.—They agree in opinion that it is the duty of every man professing to have this object at heart, honestly to use whatever influences, political, ecclesiastical, or social, he feels it right to use for the removal of any other crime from the earth, for the extirpation of this "sum of all villany." They agree in the general principle, though differing as to the details of its application, that it is the duty of a consistent abolitionist to withdraw his support and countenance from all institutions which recognize and sustain slavery. They agree to leave to every man to choose, in the light of his own conscience, whatever method of reform, political or religious, he may deem most true and effectual, but when he has made his election, they demand that he apply it faithfully to the question of slavery. They freely express their opinions, in private and in public, as to the inconsistency of men's acts with their professions. They try one another, and all men besides, by the principles each man avows, and whomsoever they find wanting, be it friend or foe, they hesitate not to state the fact, and to urge a more consistent course This is all the discipline the American Anti-Slavery Society possesses. It sets up no creed, and proposes no test, on any subject aside from Slavery and its Immediate Abolition. It merely expresses its aggregate opinion. It has no power of excommunication or excision. The majority expresses its opinion as to the consistency of a particular course of conduct with regard to anti-slavery duty. The minority retains all its rights as members of the society, if it choose to exercise them. The society has expressed its opinion, for example, that no consistent abolitionist can act with either of the political parties, as now constituted, or sustain any pro-slavery minister or church; but if a man still choose to vote for Clay or Van Buren, or Birney, or shall continue in a slaveholding church, and yet is willing to remain in the society, and act with it, enduring its plainly expressed opinion of his inconsistency, the society has neither the power nor the wish to exclude him. The American Anti-Slavery Society provides a platform on which persons of the most discordant views, on other subjects, may act together for the destruction of slavery, from which no one can be expelled for opinion or conduct, however widely differing from the standard of the majority, if he choose to remain upon it. It is the right of the majority, at its annual gatherings, to express their opinions on all subjects connected with slavery, and to take measures to promulgate them. It is the right of the minority to express their dissent, and to endeavor to bring the society to its way of thinking. It is the glory of both, to be able to work harmoniously together where they are of one mind, and to agree to differ when they are not.

Of this wise and catholic policy of the society, we conceive that its organ should be the representative and exponent. It is our business, as its editors, to carry on a war of extermination with slavery. Our motto is, "*Delenda est,*" Slavery must be destroyed, let what may be involved in its ruin. We shall assail it in its fastnesses at the South, and in its strong holds in the North. We shall not be deterred from attacking it, by the sanctity that may be shed around its place of sanctuary for its securer shelter. We shall endeavor to drag it into the light which it hates, and which is its death, whether it lay hold for protection of the robe of the priest, or the ermine of the judge, or of the stars and stripes of the Constitution. Slavery and Pro-slavery, everywhere, in all their thousand shapes, will be the objects of our important warfare. We have no fear of injuring any institution or interest by our assaults upon slavery. Whatever is so connected with slavery that it cannot survive its fall, cannot die too soon. We believe that no constitution of government, no ecclesiastical polity, no party organization is worth preserving, that demands the slightest concession to the slave power, as the condition of its existence. We believe that civil and religious liberty cannot truly exist in a country that permits the temporal and spiritual captivity of one sixth of its inhabitants. We feel sure that the preservation, or rather the attainment of those rights which our Fathers thought they had secured to us, and which alone make life a blessing, depends upon the successful issue of the battle in which Liberty is now engaged with Slavery. We feel ourselves encouraged, therefore, to gird ourselves to the conflict, in the perfect assurance that it is one in which our blows, be they potent or feeble, if aimed with true and faithful hearts, cannot fail of taking effect upon the enemy, without the possibility of injuring a friend.

Our business, then, is indulging hostility to slavery and whatever aids, comforts, or abets it. We shall endeavor to keep our attention and our attacks directed earnestly and singly against the common enemy. We have no quarrel, on this platform, with any institutions or men, excepting as they are involved in the guilt of slavery. This paper is the property and the organ of a society, composed of all kinds of people, orthodox and heterodox, politicians and non-resistants, ministers, church members, and *comeouters,* and we shall use our columns neither for the attack, nor the defense, of any system of opinions or conduct any farther than it is implicated in the guilt of the slave-system. We shall neither attack nor defend the rightfulness of civil governments founded on physical force, but we shall demand the entire and total separation of such governments from slavery. We have no fault to find with the Constitution of the United States as a Constitution of civil government. We condemn it because the maintenance of slavery is an integral part of it—and because no man can honestly support it without at the same time sustaining slavery by his moral power and physical force. We shall therefore call upon all men who profess to love liberty above all things, to withdraw from a compact, written in the blood of their countrymen, and artfully devised, so as to strip themselves of all their own rights, to make arrangements for a new Constitution, free from this fatal element, and to separate forever the eternally hostile principles of Liberty and Slavery. It is therefore that we present, and shall maintain the issue before the world—THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, OR THE REPEAL OF THE UNION! We shall have nothing to say in our columns, either for or against the claims of the Church or ministry, to a divine origin; but we shall fearlessly examine the conduct of both in the light of their own professed principles of duty; and whenever we find them either pandering to the slave system, or refusing to bear the testimony against it that they do against the single sins which make it up, we shall not hesitate to denounce them as false and hypocritical before all the people. So of all other opinions and institutions. While we leave all others free to choose their own method of reforming the evil that is in the world, we shall claim the privilege of judging whether or not they apply their method faithfully to the matter of slavery, and of freely expressing our opinion in the premises. In brief, we shall labor, to our best ability, to hasten the abolition of American slavery, by convincing the slave-masters of the South of the duty, safety, and expediency of immediate emancipation; by showing the people of the North that the heaviest burden of this guilt rests upon them; and by persuading them to withdraw the support they are now affording it, whether social, moral, religious, or political, and thus to free themselves from their participation in the crime.

The Standard will, of course, remain the vehicle for the communications of the agents of the society, and of its members, and of the doings of the Executive Committee, and of the proceedings of auxiliary societies. The discretion which the limits of the paper imposes upon the admission of communications, will be exercised impartially and in good faith, and nothing will be excluded because it expresses opinions different from those of the editors. Particular attention will be paid to the summary of foreign and domestic news, and to the departments of miscellany and general intelligence. No pains will be spared to make the Standard at once an uncompromising expositor of sterling abolition, and an interesting and useful family newspaper.

The committee, on entering upon their duties, are well aware of the thankless nature of the office they have undertaken. They know how impossible it is to give a universal satisfaction. They are prepared to hear complaints of their management of the most adverse and contradictory character. But as they do not look for the reward of man's approbation, they will not be disappointed if they fail to obtain it. They have accepted their office, because they could not, with their views of duty, decline it under the circumstances of the case. If they can so discharge it as to hasten in any measure the day of the slave's deliverance,—if they can have but the consciousness of having attempted it,—they will enjoy their sufficient reward. We rely, however, upon the sympathy and the assistance of the many true hearts and generous spirits, who will understand the nature of our position.—If such can discern in the Standard, as we trust they will, the expression of the thoughts and feelings of earnest anti-slavery minds and hearts, devoted in singleness of purpose to the extinction of slavery, we believe that they will have no disposition to cavil at details, but will gladly co-operate with us for the completion of our godlike task.

SYDNEY H. GAY,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN,
EDMUND QUINCY.

The editors recently appointed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, assume their duties with this number of the Standard. Nothing, I feel, need be added by me, as the resident editor, to the address—by Edmund Quincy—issued this week, and signed by the three. To everything contained therein, I give my most hearty assent; and to this new position to which I have been called, which nothing but a sense of duty would have impelled me to take, it will be my constant endeavor, as it has been always, in humbler places, to be guided and governed by the principles so clearly and forcibly stated in the address. Farther, I have no promises to make, and of the future, nothing to predict. But deeply, and almost painfully sensible of the weight of obligation and responsibility imposed upon me, and actuated by the single wish to bear it fearlessly and faithfully, and in accordance with the expressed wish of the society, with which I am, on all essential points, in unity, I have only to *do* that which seems to be truest, and *hope* for a clear and steady light to guide me.

A word upon another subject. It will be seen that the duties of financial agent also devolve upon me. The committee have thought proper, from motives of economy that this should be so, and with the assistance, in their proper sphere, of the persons appointed in Boston, both in the editorial and financial departments, I trust to be able to discharge,—satisfactorily at least so far as the receiving, if not the disbursing of moneys is concerned,—the duties of this second office. This arrangement will lessen very much—probably from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars per annum—the expenses of the society. The services of Mrs. Chapman and Mr. Quincy, as co-editors, and of Mr. Jackson as Treasurer, are wholly gratuitous. By changing the rooms, one half the rent is saved, and the necessity of a salaried agent is dispensed with; and none, we trust, will accuse us of extravagance when told that the salary of the resident editor, and his assistant in the office, will not, at the farthest, exceed nine hundred dollars. It is proper to make this statement that those whose servants we are, may know in what manner their affairs are conducted.

I shall not, I hope, be deemed impertinent, or accused of indecent haste, if in the very outset, I remind the subscribers of the Standard that many of them are delinquent in the important duty of paying their subscriptions, and that money is at this moment needed. The present number closes the year, and the time is a favorable one for new subscribers to commence. Will the friends circulate this paper, and do what they can to add to our list; not forgetting—those who have it to remember—that their own bills should be paid immediately?

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

The notice of the new arrangements made in the anti-slavery office, from motives of economy, was accompanied with the following resolution, passed unanimously by the Executive Committee of the society;

Voted, that the Corresponding Secretary, in notifying Isaac T. Hopper of the intention of this committee to join the duties recently performed by him, as office agent, and in relation to the Standard, to the office of resident editor, also express to Mr. Hopper the sense which this committee entertain of the readiness with which he offered his services at the trying time of our difficulties in 1840, and of the fidelity with which he has, for four years past, discharged the trust reposed in him.

APOLOGY.

Our friends must pardon all sins of omission and commission in the paper this week. In the hurry and confusion necessarily attendant upon the assumption of duties new to me, and in themselves somewhat complicated, the strange thing would be that there should be no mistakes, and that the matter, as well as the manner of the paper, should be unexceptionable. In future, when it is at all practicable, I hope to give a greater variety of intelligence on various subjects, than it has been possible, under the circumstances, to do this week.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Of contributions and subscriptions will, for the future, be made every other week. The account of those received during the last week will be in the next paper.

In the obituary notice of HANNAH COATES, of Richland county, Ohio, published in the Standard a few weeks since, the deceased was erroneously stated to be in her 20th year, instead of her 28th, as it should have been.

Died.

LUCINDA WILMARTH.—On Wednesday the 8th instant, at her father's residence in Attleboro', Massachusetts, this true-hearted woman and devoted friend of humanity in peace and quietness closed her pilgrimage here. Her zeal and effective interest in the cause of the suffering, endeared her to the hearts of many, who will feel sad that they are no more to meet her on earth.

Her life was good and simple, but in this brief notice we can only allude to her labors in the anti-slavery cause. For a considerable time she kept a school for colored children in Taunton. Subsequently, she took charge of the anti-slavery office in Providence, R. I. where she continued to labor for the promotion of the cause most acceptably until ill health compelled her to leave. Her desire was strong and earnest to leave this existence, and she contemplated a separation from the body as the realizing of entire freedom to the soul.

[COMMUNICATED.

In Buffalo, on the 6th instant, HENRIETTA HELEN, daughter of Wm. W. and Betty Brown, aged one year, eight months, and fourteen days.

"Sleep, sleep daughter, while above thee
Floats the sad and silent tear;
Oft at eve, shall those that love thee
Weep for thee unnoticed here."

The child died while the father was in the field pleading the cause of the slave.

At Saratoga, on the 19th of fifth month, 1844, ELIZABETH BARNS, in the fifty-second year of her age. The revered friends and relatives of this worthy individual have the consolation that hers, has not been a life spent in vain. Both by example and precept she has left an assurance that her work was done in the day time, and that her spirit, after having left its tenement of clay, was wafted to the mansions of eternal rest; there to join the good of every age, in singing praises to the Most High, through endless time—through eternity.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Texas.—Mr. Choate spoke, to-day, against the treaty. I have no doubt that he has made a splendid speech. Nothing had transpired about it, at the moment of writing this. I have not the least doubt that he has considered the subject in reference to the extension of slavery. That is the view of the matter which, after all, forms the chief difficulty, in the minds of a portion of the people. All other substantial arguments are addressed to details. There is but *one principle* at issue. This being the case, and the slaveholding portion being the weakest portion of the Union, there can be little doubt as to the ultimate result of the question. The question will be kept alive, for awhile, to subserve party purposes, and it may happen that unity and determination, on the part of the South, will bring the whole matter of contest *to an issue,* as between them and the North.

The House, to-day, was chiefly occupied with the naval appropriation bill.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Mr. Benton on Texas.—Mr. Benton, in his three hours' speech on the Texas treaty in executive session, maintains the following positions;

1. That the ratification of the treaty would be, of itself, war between the United States and Mexico.
2. That it would be unjust war.
3. That it would be war unconstitutionally made.
4. That it would be war upon a weak and groundless pretext.

Nevertheless, Mr. Benton advocates the annexation as soon as it can be done with the consent of a majority of the people of the United States and of Texas, and when Mexico shall either consent to the same, or acknowledge the independence of Texas, or cease to prosecute the war against her (the armistice having expired) on a scale commensurate to the conquest of the country.—*Journal of Commerce.*

General Jackson and Van Buren.—General Jackson has written another letter in favor of the annexation of Texas. It appears in the Nashville Union, of May 15 h. It is a curiosity. He endorses Mr. Van Buren in the closing portion, which we subjoin:

"I cannot close these remarks without saying that my regard for Mr. Van Buren is so great, and my confidence in his love of country is strengthened by so long and intimate an acquaintance, that no difference on this subject can change my opinion of his character. He has evidently prepared his letter from a knowledge only of the circumstances bearing on the subject as they existed at the close of his administration without a view of the disclosures since made, and which manifest the probability of a dangerous interference with the affairs of Texas by a foreign power.

Serious Accident.—On Thursday last, a most serious accident occured in a limestone quarry, on the farm late of Thomas Watson, in Buckingham, Bucks county, Pa., which caused the death of a hard working and industrious man. It appears that a blast in the rock only opened a small fissure, and a man named Daniel Kelly, immediately commenced pouring in a fresh supply of powder, which ignited from a remaining spark, and was speedily conveyed to a keg full, which exploded, enveloping the unfortunate man in a sheet of flame. His clothes were completely consumed, and his body burned in a most shocking manner.

Progress in Egypt.—The Pacha is about to route one more of the monsters of the desert—by boring for water between Cairo and Suez, which he expects to find, sweet, at the depth of 1000 feet. For this purpose he is awaiting an apparatus, ordered from England, calculated for boring to the depth of 1500 feet. No mention is yet made of the introduction of wood-paving, or the new sweeping machine, into this disenchanted region; but they will follow in their turn.

Mr. Nelson, United States Attorney General, is about to resign. Mr. Nelson, as acting Secretary of State before the accession of Mr. Calhoun, refused to sign the Texas treaty.

Accounts from Washington state that Mr. Calhoun's friends are urging him to become a candidate for the Presidency, since Mr. Van Buren's Texas letter came out, and that he has consented.

Revenue.—The receipts at the New-York custom house for the first four months of 1844, were $7,627,315. During the same period of 1843, $3,010,135. Increase $4,617,180.

Cotton manufactories in Natchez.—Three enterprising Bostonians are about to start a large cotton manufactory near Natchez, Mississippi.

More Rope.—Mr. George Weaver, of this city, has just completed a rope for one of the inclined planes on the Alleghany portage railroad, a mile and a half in length, and eight inches in circumference. This is the largest rope yet manufactured in Philadelphia.—*Phil. North American.*

Commodore Stewart has published a letter in favor of annexation. He sees no obstacle to the measure in our treaty with Mexico.

General Cass is said to have written a letter going the whole for annexation. Other accounts say that he is opposed to *immediate* annexation.

Papal Mission.—Of $528,000 expended in one year by the Association for Propagating the Faith, established at Lyons, in France, $13,000 was expended for missions in Europe; $195,000 for missions in Asia; $27,000 for missions in Africa; $50,000 for missions in Oceanica; embracing the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans, and $164,000 *for missions in America.* Of their periodicals, entitled the Annals, about 120,000 copies published, are now printed in seven languages, viz: French, 63,000; German, 17,000; English, 16,000; Spanish, 11,000; Flemish, 4,000; Italian, 18,000; Portuguese, 2,000.—*American Messenger.*

Dear for the Whistle.—The nett cost of the occupation and retention of Algiers, to France, has been about £22,400,000 sterling—rather too much for the whistle.

Mr. *Cross,* member of Congress from Arkansas, has published a letter, denouncing Mr. Van Buren, because he is not in favor of immediate annexation.

Mr. *Tappan,* senator from Ohio, is found to have been the person, who disclosed the Texas treaty and documents. Some of the papers state that this fact came out in the testimony of Mr. Bozes, printer of the New-York Evening Post, he having been summoned to Washington in the case; but it was understood in that city that Mr. Tappan avowed it before any testimony was taken. It seems probable that no severity will be used against the senator, though the Senate have the power to expel him.

NOTICES.

BUCKS COUNTY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society will be held at Pineville Hall, on Seventhday, the 8th of June, at 2 o'clock, P. M. Officers will be elected for the ensuing year. Local societies are requested to be fully represented. WM. BURGESS, Sec'ry.

"VISIT TO THE WEST INDIES."

This is the title of a neat little volume, just published, which is said, by those who have read it, to be very interesting, and calculated to do much good. It is the narrative of a visit made to the British West Indies, in the winter of 1841, by George Truman, John Jackson, and Thomas B. Longstreth; and contains the testimony of these Friends to the happy effects of emancipation in those islands. It may be had at Baker & Crane's, 158 Pearl street, N. Y.; of E. P. Willis, Rochester; Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket; and Joseph Post, Long Island.

May 16th, 1844.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, but let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit.* If any of our friends in the country, will come and superintend the sale of their articles, they will be most welcome, and their aid truly valuable.

We are sorry to say that our poultry stall was not as well furnished as usual last year. Will not abolitionists who are preparing produce for their own tables or the market, remember, and give us a practical proof that they remember the physically and spiritually starved slave? Give to him, as God hath given to you, freely, abundantly.

We advise all who intend to work in this department, (and what abolitionist in Eastern Pennsylvania does not) so begin at once to do something, and enlist the sympathies and efforts of as many others as possible.

We are sure, dear friends, that none of us will regret having done too much, but we may regret having done too little for the emancipation of two and a half millions of slaves.

On behalf of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Anne M. Hopper, *Maria M. Davis,*
Mary Grew, *Emma Parker,*
Sarah McKim, *Matilda Casey,*
Phebe Earle, *Tarrasa Hallowell,*
Hulda Justice, *Elizabeth J. Neall,*
Susan Dorsey, *Rebecca Stackhouse,*
Gertude H. Burleigh, *Sarah Pugh,*
Harriet Snyder, *Mary Shaw,*
Margaret Griscom, *Sarah Dorsey*
Sarah M. Douglass, *Margaret Jones,*
Harriet D. Purvis, *Margaretta Forten,*
Hetty Burr, *Esther Reckless,*
Mary T. Stickney, *Jannetta Jackson,*

PHILADELPHIA, April 23d, 1844.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, his appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by upholding this Fair. The experience of ten years enables the women of Massachusetts to present it to you as an effectual channel, through which your sympathy may unite with that of others, to swell the flood of effort by which high principle shall be diffused, and right feeling excited, till the horrible institution of slavery shall be swept away.

None of the funds raised by means of this Fair are ever permitted to run to waste in building up a political party, or in defraying electioneering expenses. They are used to promulgate, through the press, and by the living voice, the truths of freedom, which convert men's hearts to the cause. We give a guaranty for the economical and judicious disposal of them, by providing for their expenditure by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Without going back for years, to recapitulate former help, the beneficial consequences of which are in perpetual glow, we will simply state that the proceeds of this last year's Fair were TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, exclusive of many small appropriations, and the necessary expenses; and that, lacking the prospect of this aid, neither the Hundred Western Conventions, nor the Hundred Conventions now in progress through Massachusetts would have been undertaken. The influence of the cause might be increased ten-fold, by means of that aid from the commonwealth generally, which it is disposed, if the way were open, to afford. A few words of suggestion may open this way. Permit us to make them for the cause's sake.

First. We entreat whomsoever this sheet reaches, instantly to announce an intention of aiding the ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, and to form, if possible, a little circle for weekly anti-slavery effort through the year. Gain all the aid possible, but *wait for no one else.* Whoever begins will be the nucleus round which much help will gather ht length.

Second. To remember that there is nothing useful or ornamental—no mechanical, agricultural, or manufacturing product—nothing either to eat, drink, or wear—no work of taste or art, for household use or decoration—but will (so perfect have our arrangements at length become) be made as available to the cause as its worth in money.

Third. To correspond with us for the purpose of benefiting us by your suggestions, and receiving the aid of ours. For it may often be in the power of all the friends of the cause, mutually to aid each other by the interchange of materials and labor, and by furnishing the newest patterns of articles of dress, or models of articles of furniture.

There surely needs no searching argument or eloquent appeal to commend the cause of freedom and humanity to professed republicans and Christians. All see and feel that it is a good and noble thing to spring to the relief and rescue of one human being undergoing wrong, or peril, or suffering. But here are will-nigh THREE MILLIONS, undergoing all the suffering, wrong, and peril of SLAVERY, that incarnation of all that is dreadful to the sons and daughters of Massachusetts, while all that universal man holds dear and holy is endangered by the existence of such a blighting institution. Righteous principle dies out—good feeling is extinguished—our country is endangered—our character as a people dishonored; and will not you, who admire a single act of devotedness, though done but for a single human being, be true to your own moral nature, and gladly give time, labor, money, prayer, sacrifice, that so you may save a nation—redeem a race—ennoble an age?

Let us hear from you speedily, and consider us your servants for the cause's sake,

M. W. Chapman, *Ann T. G. Phillips,*
Mary G. Chapman, *Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza L. Follen, *Olivia Bowditch,*
Sarah S. Russell, *Sarah B. Shaw,*
Hellen E. Garrison, *Lavinia Hilton,*
Anne Warren Weston, *Thankful Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent, *Maria White,*
Frances Mary Robbins, *Louisa Loring,*
Hannah Tufts, *Catherine Sargent,*
M. A. W. Johnson, *Caroline Weston,*
Anna R. Philbrick, *Mary Young,*
Harriet B. Jackson, *Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa M. Sewall, *Caroline F. Williams,*
Abby Southwick, *Mary Willey,*
Marian Fuller, *Ann R. Bramhall*

BOSTON, February 8, 1844.

WINDHAM COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Said society will hold a meeting in Willimantic, on Tuesday, the 4th of June, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Sec'y.

ANTI SLAVERY FAIR.

Abolitionists of Rhode Island—Dear Friends:—

The members of the Providence Ladies Anti-Slavery Society feeling that the times demand on their part, and on the part of abolitionists generally, more energetic and decisive action, have determined to hold a FAIR in this city, on the first Wednesday (Commencement day) of September, 1844.

As to the design of this Fair, little need be said to incite exertion on your part. Three millions of American citizens are in slavery: we wish to aid in their speedy and unconditional emancipation. What effort can be more praiseworthy in its purpose? What object more glorious in its accomplishment? It is an effort in behalf of Freedom. The time has been when the mention of a design like this would thrill, as with electric speed and power, the hearts of our little commonwealth. Reputation, property, and life, would all be spontaneously and freely offered upon the altar of liberty. In the dark and stormy days of religious persecution, Rhode Island was freedom's eyrie. In the still darker and stormier days of the revolution, our men and women counted toil and deprivation, joyful. Shall it be, that now, when a religious intolerance and persecution, more bigoted and cruel—when a tyranny more fearful and degrading than it has ever before been the world's lot to witness, pollutes our soil, that a call for help shall not meet with a hearty and cheering response? Surely not. There is among you, dear friends, a heart-engendered philanthropy that will not suffer it.

Our countrymen are degraded, oppressed, murdered; the blasting and withering influences of slavery are paralyzing the nerves of our national prosperity and power; draining the well-springs of humanity, and choking with insurmountable barriers, the channels of free thought and utterance. On this behalf we call upon you for help. Let it come, in any and every shape. Your purses, your farms, your workshops, your factories, and your stores, we expect will be laid under liberal contribution. Things to eat and things to drink—things to be seen and things to be worn—things useful and things fanciful—let them all come, in overwhelming abundance. Nothing can be too numerous, too great, or too small.

We ask each one of you to do something. Form at once, sewing circles and knitting societies—organize and send forth efficient soliciting committees. Let no person remain idle or unsolicited—no corner of the State unsearched, for aid. All this do, for the slave's sake. The foes of freedom are mustering strong, even now, and the battle waxes hot. Come each one, and all, bear a hand.

☞ Articles designed for the Fair may be sent to the Anti-Slavery office, No. 2, Broad street—care of Amaranncy Paine. Any information that may be desired, will be readily given by Miss Paine, on addressing her by mail, or otherwise.

Susan R. Morris, *Abby Thurber,*
Sarah B. P. Foster, *Olive Taber,*
Hannah B. Shove, *Nancy H. Shove,*
Abby Burgess, *Mary Hathaway,*
Lucretia Francis, *Mary Smith,*
Sarah Smith, *Caroline Ashly,*
Amarancy Paine.

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NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort	a 4.37½	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	30.00 a 32.50
Pearl	4.87½ a 5.00	do. American	20.00 a 25.50
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	75.00 a 77.50
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 12	do. Russia P,S,L,	a 0.00
Sperm.	29 a 32	do. do. new do.	75.00 a .
Stearic do.	20 a 25	do. Swedes	a 78.00
COAL.		do. Eng. com.	a 67.50
Liverpool, chaldron,	7.50 a 8.25	do. do. refined	75. a 78.50
Newcastle	6.50 a 7.50	Sheet E. & Am. lb.	8½ a 8½
Scotch	6.25

Poetry.

TO THE UNSATISFIED.

BY H. W., OF POTLAND, MAINE.

The author of the following beautiful lines will pardon me for publishing them, which I should not have ventured to do, had I come into possession of them in any other way than through an exchange paper. I remember them in the collection of a friend, and have dared further—for which, perhaps, only apology is necessary—to prefix to them the proper initials. The readers of the Standard, I know, will thank me for the offense, and ask for its repetition, if opportunity should occur.—G.

Why thus longing, why forever sighing
For the far-off, unattained and dim;
While the beautiful, all around thee lying,
Offers up its low perpetual hymn?

Would'st thou listen to its gentle teaching,
All thy restless yearning it would still;
Leaf and flower, and laden bee are preaching,
Thine own sphere, though humble, first to fill.

Poor indeed thou must be, if around thee
Thou no ray of light and joy can'st throw,
If no silken cord of love hath bound thee
To some little world, through weal and wo.

If no dear eyes thy fond love can brighten—
No fond voices answer to thine own;
If no brother's sorrow thou can'st lighten,
By daily sympathy and gentle tone—

Not by deeds that win the world's applauses;
Not by works that give thee world-renown;
Nor by martyrdom, or vaunted crosses,
Can'st thou win and wear the immortal crown.

Daily struggling, though unloved and lonely,
Every day a rich reward will give;
Thou wilt find, by hearty striving only,
And, truly loving, thou can'st truly live.

Dost thou revel in the rosy morning,
When all nature hails the lord of light,
And his smile the mountain-tops adorning,
Robes yon fragrant fields in radiance bright?

Other hands may grasp the field and forest,
Proud proprietors in pomp may shine;
But with fervent love, if thou adorest,
Thou art wealthier—all the world is thine!

Yet, if through earth's wide domains thou rovest,
Sighing that they are not thine alone,
Not those fair fields, but thyself thou lovest,
And their beauty, and thy wealth are gone.

Nature wears the color of the spirit;
Sweetly to her worshipper she sings;
All the glow, the grace she doth inherit,
Round her trusting child she fondly flings.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MY SOUL IS FREE!

BY E. A. E.

Disguise! and coward fear! away!
My soul is free; and loves the day,
The day who veils her blushes bright,
And wails in tears the gloomy night;
So bleeds my breast by sorrow torn;
When'ere degenerate manhood's form
Bows slavelike to a tyrant's power,
Lost to himself, and heaven's high dower.

Away! with chains! my soul is free,
And joyeth as the summer sea,
When love's low tone around it play;
Or friendship gilds the closing day.
And as the pitying sea doth moan,
So swells my heart at sorrow's tone;
So echoes back each murmur'd sigh;
Like ocean, when the storm is nigh.

And as the tossing waves loud roar
With deafening thunders on the shore;
So may my soul rise in her might
And sternly battle for the right.
Oh! when the righteous fight is done
And calmly sinks the weary sun
Still shall my song triumphant be;
Rejoice! rejoice! my soul is free.

PHILADELPHIA, 1844.

LOUIS XV.

BY STERLING.

The king with all his kingly train
Had left his Pompadour behind,
And forth he rode in Senart's wood
The royal beasts of chase to find.
That day by chance the monarch mused,
And turning suddenly away,
He struck alone into a path
That far from crowds and courtiers lay.

He saw the pale green shadows play
Upon the brown, untrodden earth;
He saw the birds around him flit
As if he were of peasant birth;
He saw the trees that know no king
But him who bears a woodland axe;
He thought not, but he looked about
Like one who skill in thinking lacks.

Then close to him a footstep fell,
And glad of human sound was he,
For truth to say he found himself
A weight from which he fain would flee.
But that which he would ne'er have guessed
Before him now most plainly came;
The man upon his weary back
A coffin bore of rudest frame.

"Why, who art thou?" exclaimed the king,
"And what is that I see thee bear?"
"I am a laborer in the wood,
And 'tis a coffin for Pierre.
Close by the royal hunting-lodge
You may have often seen him toil;
But he will never work again,
And I for him must dig the soil."

The laborer ne'er had seen the king,
And this he thought was but a man,
Who made at first a moment's pause,
And then anew his talk began:
"I think I do remember now,—
He had a dark and glancing eye,
And I have seen his slender arm
With wondrous blows the pick-axe ply."

"Pray, tell me friend, what accident
Can thus have killed our good Pierre?"
"Oh! nothing more than usual, sir,
He died of living upon air.
'Twas hunger killed the poor good man,
Who long on empty hopes relied;
He could not pay gabell and tax,
And feed his children, so he died."

The man stopped short, and then went on,—
"It is, you know, a common thing;
Our children's bread is eaten up
By courtier, mistresses, and king."
The king looked hard upon the man,
And afterwards the coffin eyed,
Then spurred to ask of Pompadour,
How came it that the peasants died.

Miscellany.

THE KIDNAPPER.

The following tale is from "Life in the New World, or Sketches of American Society," by Seatsfield. The writer is, throughout his work, an apologist for slavery, and does n't see that he writes himself down as hypocrite, or fool, in defending a system which commits daily deeds of more damning dye, than this his strong imagination chronicles, if indeed it be a purely fictitious story:

Yes, it is sublime, and almost terrible, to view these primeval forests, covering thousands of miles with their mighty shadows. How many cries of sorrow and despair have been raised unheard by any human ears! how many bloody deeds, at the bare mention of which the strongest heart would shudder! Many here have been frowned upon by these leafy monarchs! It seems as if nature's very grandeur invited to great and terrible crimes. Even at this day, my heart feels as if in a vice, when I recollect that awful scene. Yes, truth is sometimes more cruel than the most striking sarcasm—more terrible than the fire of the wildest fancy. How happens it, that the divine spark that dwells in man; his reason—so seldom illuminates his heart, when on the contrary, his evil spirit, if I may call it such, finds its way through his whole inner being! I have often endeavored to untie this Gordian knot, but my labor has hitherto been vain, and my thoughts become more entangled, the more I muse on the strange contrast.

These ideas unwittingly became words, when about a fortnight after that famous night on the banks of the Tennessee, we were opposite the heights of Hopefield, floating down the Mississippi, in the Jackson.

Hopefield is a small place on the western banks of the stream, about six hundred miles above New Orleans, and five hundred below the mouth of the Ohio. There are about fifteen houses, of which two bear the title of taverns and stores—as whisky, together with a few dozen knives and forks, some variegated handkerchiefs, pots, powder, and tobacco—are sold at these establishments.

The place possesses little interest; yet the eyes of the whole company were fixed with a painful gaze on the log huts, and on the large cotton-trees behind them.

I was standing, together with my friend Richards, and most of our fellow-passengers, at the taffrail, when suddenly a young woman snatched her child from the arms of a negress who stood behind her, and pressed it with great emotion to her bosom.

"And does the poor father still live?" inquired a third woman, shuddering.

No answer was returned.

After a while, Richards turned to me and said: "You have seen him?"

"I have."

The eyes of the whole company were fixed upon me in inquiring expectation, and I proceeded as follows:

It was in the beginning of December, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-five, when I was going down the Mississippi, in the Feliciana. Near the heights of this very Hopefield, Hempstead county, as you know, one of our wheels struck against a sawyer, and broke to pieces, which obliged us to stop at the town.

Our company was composed of ten ladies, as many young, and several *old* gentlemen. There is nothing more pleasant, on the banks of the Mississippi, than an excursion into the country; and as we had nothing to do in the town, the proposal of some of our party to make a trip into the forest, was carried by acclamation.

The son of one of the innkeepers, offered himself as our guide. Each of us provided himself with a gun, and a bottle of wine, or brandy, as antidotes, or precautions, against the vapors arising from the swamps; our guide was loaded with a large ham, and a supply of crackers, with which our captain presented us as common property, out of the ship-stores. Thus provided, we set out on our excursion, accompanied by the best wishes of the ladies, who went with us a short distance into the forest. The western bank of the swamp was covered with a profusion of palmetto, the usual shelter of deer, bears, and even panthers. Our principal object in coming hither, was to search this place.

We divided, therefore, into two parties—the first, with the guide, whom the New Englanders followed, was to go round the swamp, in the northern direction, while we took our course round its southern borders. Both parties were to meet again on the other side, on a path which led through a thick hedge of wild plum and locust trees. These orders were not very definite—as they were given in a backwoodsman's style; but as questions would only have confused our guide, we parted, relying upon our own sound judgment and the pocket compasses, with which we were amply supplied. *Our* course, as I have said, was in a southern direction.

At the further end of the swamp, we had to turn to the west, and then to steer a northern course along the palmetto.

Until now we had—with the exception of some flights of wild pigeons and some squirrels—seen no animals but snakes, which we found basking themselves in the last rays of the sun; king-serpents glittering in the colors of the rainbow, mocasin-snakes concealing themselves at our approach under a heap of leaves—or thorn serpents, rising slowly with a peculiar whine.

After a couple of hours we had reached the southern point of the marshy hollow. We now turned northward, having the water to the right and the palmetto-field to our left. The ground which we now walked on, was, as is generally the case in canebrakes, firm and unyielding. The grass came up to our ancles; and now, as we entered this majestic primeval forest, every chatterer became silent. Is it the deep, imposing earnestness that spreads itself through this beautiful wilderness, the solemn silence, which is only interrupted by our footsteps and by the falling leaves—or is it the magnificent sight of these proud trees, attempting, as one would think, to reach the heavens—that so strangely affects our senses? I now remarked that the northerners, who had never been farther than Albany or Saratoga Springs, had at once assumed a look almost gloomy and downcast. The leaves of the cotton-trees, those giants in the southwestern forests, were now clothed in the colors of autumn; only solitary sunbeams sometimes lighted up their yellow green tint; and whenever this happened the landscape was of such magic brilliancy, that it made my companion stare in mute astonishment. The roots and bushes hanging down from the trees full twenty feet, bore testimony to the power of the current, which sometimes inundated the banks for twenty or thirty miles, giving the land the appearance of a boundless lake. Here and there a magnolia was to be seen, with its snowy flower, or a latalgra with the *ficus Indicus*, and its long leaves and cucumber-like plants, on which shining redbirds or paroquets were perched in beauty.

While two clerks from Boston expected to see a wild animal in every bush, and had already, to the great amusement of our guide—who, with the air of a broad backwoodsman, left their silly questions unanswered—more than ten times raised their guns on a panther or a grim bear; we arrived, after an hour's search, at another vast swamp, formed by the floods of the river, and covering the space of nearly five miles, running from north to south, with a broad green stripe of clear water in its middle. But the stream had no banks. Immediately beside it was the deep swamp, so that our only choice was to break through the palmetto or make our way across the swamp, of which the borders were adorned by high cedars standing four or five feet in the water, while the mirror-like surface reflected their mighty crowns.

We halted, for a little while, to enjoy this beautiful view. The broad stripe of water glittered like an enormous band of silver outstretched upon the ground, and the least motion of the leaves was visible in this magnificent looking-glass. Sometimes a soft zephyr would rise, and after setting the leaves and the palmettos in motion, lose itself in the gentle waves of the lake. The water, itself had a tint of the most beautiful light-green, and the stems of the palmetto played brilliantly, like myriads of glimmering swords and lances, in the shivering blood. In the little bays were swans, pelicans, and wild geese, bathing themselves, and cleaning their plumage for their wintry flight, allowed us to approach within twenty paces of them, and then soared toward the skies, seeking for safety in a speedy flight.

We had continued our way for some time to the north, when our attention was roused by a slow but regular rattling in the palmetto. Something was approaching at a slow pace, and we put ourselves cautiously on the alert. Perhaps it was a deer, a panther, or a bear—most probably the latter. We looked to our guns, got them ready, and went onward some few yards more, when we were startled by a hollow roaring, and immediately thereafter a leap, a rattling, and a strange noise, which soon lost itself in an opposite direction. One of our companions, who had before been hunting bears, hurried as quickly as he possibly could through the palmetto field, until he was out of sight. We had unfortunately no dog with us, and after prowling about the place half an hour, we felt convinced that we would be obliged to return with empty hands By our watches it was now time for us to be at the point, where we were to meet with the party which had taken the other way around the swamp; but our bear pursuer, who had returned, assured us that the palmetto field was bordered on that side by a terrible thicket of plum, apple, and locust trees, and that there was no possible passage through it.

We soon convinced ourselves of the truth of his assertions. The higher grounds of the canebrake gradually sunk into a low marsh, which stretched itself beside the lake from north to south.

Whoever has been in such a wilderness, can easily imagine our embarrassment at such an obstacle, as we had already lost four hours of the eight which we allowed ourselves. It seemed that nothing was left us, but to find our way back. Before we came to this conclusion, however, we tried once more to find the path indicated by our guide, and for this purpose we separated and started in several directions.

In about half an hour, during which we had to work ourselves through thorns and bushes, a loud hurrah informed us that the path was found. We all hurried toward the point from which the voice of our companion proceeded. He had made a discovery; but instead of a path, he had found a cow! Yet we accepted gladly this treasure. The question now arose whether this was a stray cow or a civilized, respectable one, which returned decently and regularly to the home of her owners in the evenings. A hardy Ohioan decided the question, and assured us the cow had been milked in the morning of that very day. The more important question, how to get the cow to show us her way home, was likewise solved by him to our great satisfaction, by his placing himself behind the cow and firing his gun near her tail. The animal made one jump, and then ran into the thicket as if a pack of mad-dogs had been after her. The animal's acquaintance with the wilderness led us soon to a path, on which we could walk with much more ease. At last we reached the pathway which led to the appointed rendezvous.

We now followed at leisure the traces of the cow. After-marching about a mile, we observed the forest becoming lighter, which induced us to conclude that a large clearing was not far off.

Soon afterward, we saw fences and fields of corn; and lastly, in the background, a house built of logs, the smoking chimney of which assured us of the presence of a backwoodsman. The house was quietly situated upon a little eminence. It was covered with clapboards, and had behind it a barn, and those other small buildings near it, which are generally found on the settlements of backwoodsmen of some fortune. The front of the house was decorated with peach-trees, and with groups of papaws, the whole forming a beautiful rural view.

As we were leaning across the fence, a pair of large bulldogs rushed with open jaws toward us.—We kept the dogs, which became every moment still more furious, at bay, as well as we could, when a man opened the barn-door, and immediately closed it. A few seconds after he again made his appearance, together with two negroes, who were dragging out by the horns the same cow which we had forced to such a speedy retreat. We saluted the man with a "good morning!" He returned no answer, and glanced at us with a cold, gloomy look. He was tall and muscular; his face was strongly marked, but very dull and almost repulsive. There was something restless, something disturbed in his countenance, which one perceived at a glance.

"A beautiful morning," said I, approaching him.

No answer. He held the cow by both horns, and his eye was steadily fixed on the beast's tail, from which some drops of blood flowed down on the ground.

"How far is it to Hopefield?" I asked.

"Far enough never to get there, if you were hunting my cow," was his threatening answer.

"And if we have done it, you should not think hard of it. It was a mere accident."

"Accidents of this kind don't happen often. Folks don't shoot at cows, if they do not intend to eat other people's meat."

"You would not suppose," rejoined the Ohio man gently, "that when we took your cow for our aim, we did it with the intention of getting some turkeys to bring with us to our steamboat. We are passengers in the Feliciana; one of our wheels has been broken on a sawyer, and that is the cause of our lying at Hopefield, and of our being here——"

The man had explained the case with real Ohio minuteness; the backwoodsman, however, gave no answer, and we walked toward the house.

In the room we found his wife. There was also something gloomy in her features, although not so repulsive as were those of her husband. A deep grief seemed to be the chief expression of her face.

"Could we get something to eat?" I asked the woman.

"We keep no tavern," was her answer.

"Our companions of the other party cannot be far off," one of us remarked. "We will give them the signal to join us."

With these words, he walked a few steps across a cotton-field.

"Stop!" cried the backwoodsman, placing himself in his way; "you shall not go a single step farther, till you tell me whence you come."

"Whence I come?" replied our companion, a young physician from Tennessee; "that, neither you nor any other man will know, if the question is asked in that manner. If I am not mistaken, we are in a free country." And with these words, he fired his gun.

The echo resounded so loud and majestic through the forest which girded the plantation, that two others also prepared to fire their guns. I made a sign to them, however, and they did not accomplish their purpose. It seemed best to be prepared for every emergency, although we felt no anxiety or fear. In a few moments we heard a shot—the reply to our signal.

"Do not trouble yourself unnecessarily," said I to the host; "our comrades have heard our signal, and will in a few minutes be here. With regard to your cow, you ought to have common sense enough to know that five travellers would not hunt after a thing utterly useless to them."

While I spoke these words our other party came from the forest, the guide at their head carrying on his back two large wild turkeyes. He saluted the backwoodsman as an old acquaintance; but withal, this salute had something so kind, yet so reserved, that it formed a strange contrast to his generally rough and uncouth behaviour.

"Well, Mr. Clarke," said he, "nothing heard yet? I am very sorry."

The backwoodsman made no reply, but his daring physiognomy changed suddenly, into a dark gaze. A tear, it seemed, started into his eye.

"Mrs. Clarke," continued the guide, to the wife, who now came out from the house, "these gentlemen wish something for dinner. We have been hunting enough I should think. We are bountifully supplied with everything. Would you have the goodness to prepare something?"

The woman stood without uttering a word; the husband also was mute. In both their countenances I read something reluctant and inhospitable, which I had never before met with among the inhabitants of the backwoods.

"Would you have the kindness," repeated the guide, "to roast a turkey for us, with some ham and eggs?"

No answer. The man was still holding the horns of the cow, looking darkly to the ground, and the woman stared upon her husband.

"Well, then," exclaimed the physician, "there is nothing to be expected; we lose our time. Let us sit down on this log, and make a general assault upon our ham and crackers."

The guide gave us a significant nod, and shyed up to the woman, to whom he spoke urgently, yet without obtaining a syllable in reply.

"Lady!" cried the doctor, "something must have happened to you or your family, that grieves you. We are strangers, but not unfeeling. Tell us what it is? Perhaps help may be found."

The man looked up, and the woman shook her head."

"What is it?" said I, approaching her; "what afflicts you thus? Help is often near when it is least expected."

We could clearly perceive that something must have happened here, that was painful and afflicting. A trifle could never strain so terribly the nerves of these hardy people.

Without saying a word the woman stepped up to the guide, took from him a turkey and the ham, and went back into the house.

We followed her, and entered the room. After having sat down around the table, we brought forth our bottles. The man fetched some glasses, and took a seat by us. We filled the glasses, and entreated him to join us; but he declined obstinately our invitations. At last we got tired of wasting our entreaties upon him. Our company, as has been remarked, consisted of ten young men. Two bottles had already been emptied, and we were becoming rather lively, when our host left his place at the chimney, and stepping up to the table, said:

"Gemmen! you must not think that I am a rude man: but I am obliged to tell you, that I do not permit noise in my house. It is no house for laughing, I assure you, by Heaven!"

And after having spoken thus, he sat down again, leaned his head on both hands, and fell again into his former apathy.

"We beg pardon," I replied; "but indeed, we did not think that our merriment would offend you."

The man made no reply, and thus passed half an hour in whisperings and conjectures.

At last a negro girl set the table. After many ardent invitations to join our meal, the host and hostess sat down with us. He now tried our cogniac, and drained a glass at one draught. We filled it up, and he again emptied it; and again the glass was filled. After the third glass he sighed heavily, and it was visible that the man began to feel easier.

"Gemmen!" he commenced, "when I met you as you were chasing my cow, you must have thought me sullen and rough; but now I can see whom I have before me. Ah! that man!——When I meet him, I will send a bullet through his body; and I pledge myself he shall not steal a boy again."

"Stealing boys?" exclaimed I. "How, has one of your negroes been stolen?"

"One of my negroes, man? My son, my only son!—my lawfully begotten son! her child!" pointing at his wife; "our boy is stolen!—our boy, the only one that was left us, of five children whom the fever carried off. A boy as hardy, as cunning, as handsome, and as smart as any boy ever born in the backwoods. We settled here in this wilderness; we worked hard day and night; endured pains and dangers, hunger and thirst, heat and cold. And for whom? Here we are now alone, abandoned, childless, inconsolable, praying and weeping, cursing and groaning. Nothing avails, all is in vain. Oh, I shall go mad! If he were dead!—If he were lying behind yon hill, by the side of his brothers and sisters, I would not grumble. The Lord gave him, the Lord taketh away! But, oh, Almighty——"

The man uttered a shriek—so frantic, so terrible, that the negroes, women and children, rushed into the room, while our knives and forks fell from our hands. We gazed at him, unable to speak.

"God alone knows!" he continued, and his head fell heavily on his breast; but suddenly he recovered, and poured down one glass after another.

"And how was this terrible theft committed?" was our inquiry.

"The woman," said he, "can tell it you."

She had left the table, and was sitting at the bedside, groaning and weeping. It was indeed a shocking scene. The doctor got up, and conducted her to the table; we all looked at her, eager to hear her explanation of this extraordinary occurrence.

"Yesterday it was four weeks," she began; "Mr. Clarke was in the woods, and I in the cornfield, to see that the servants properly attended to their work. I stayed a good while with them, and it was already eleven o'clock, by the sun; the morning was as fine as the valley of the Mississippi had ever seen, and as you know the servants don't like to work if they can help it, I stayed with them. Then I thought it would be time to go home and cook the dinner for the people, and home I went. I know not how it was, but when I was passing through the field, it seemed to me as if a voice cried: 'Run as fast as you can,' and so I did. Something like fear and dread came over me, and I hurried with all my might. Coming home, I saw Cesi, our black boy, sitting on the stoop of the house, and playing by himself. Still I had not a thought what was to come. I went into the house, and into the kitchen. On looking around for kettles and pans, I thought of my Dougal. I left the pan, and ran to the door, when Cesi met me. 'Missi,' said he, 'Dougal is gone.' 'Dougal gone?' Where is he gone, Cesi?' 'I don't know,' said Cesi; 'he left with a man who come on horseback.' 'With a man who came on horseback!' cried I; 'for mercy's sake, Cesi, where can he have gone to? What is this?' Do n't know,' rejoined Cesi. 'And with whom is he gone, Cesi? Did he go willingly?' 'No; not willingly,' replied Cesi; 'but the man jumped off his horse, then he put on Dougal first, jumped on behind him, and rode away!' 'Rode away!' replied I; 'and you don't know the man?' 'No, Missi, I do not.' 'Did you not remark, Cesi,' said I, 'whether the man was black or white?' 'I do not know,' answered Cesi. Did you not look into his face, Cesi?' I continued. 'He had a red flannel shirt before his face,' was his half-weeping reply. 'Good, dear Cesi, don't you know how the man looked?' He had a coat and a horse,' replied Cesi. 'And you don't know his name, Cesi? Was it neighbor Symmes, or Banks, or Medling, or Barnes?' 'No!' Cesi screamed. 'Gracious God!' I cried; 'what has become of my poor child?'

"I ran forward; I ran back, I ran to the woods and the fields; I searched and I cried. The more I cried, the greater became my fear. At last I hurried to the servants, and brought Cesi's mother. I thought it might be possible for her to learn something more from her child. She came to the house with me, and inquired of the boy how the man looked. She promised him cakes, new pants, a new jacket, anything—the boy cried, but he could say no more. Then Mr. Clarke came in." Here the woman concluded her part of the touching narrative.

"When I came in," continued the man, "the fright of my wife was so great that I instantly perceived some great misfortune must have happened. Little did I imagine its awful extent.

After I had heard the whole, I told her, by way of consolation, that one of our friends or neighbors had taken the child away—but I did not believe it myself; for who, of all my neighbors, would have taken such a foolish liberty with my only child? I certainly would not have thanked him for it. I examined Cesi once more, and inquired again how the man looked? whether he had on a blue or black coat? 'A black one,' he replied. 'What color was his horse?' 'Brown,' answered the boy. 'Which way did he go?'—the boy pointed to the large swamp.

"I immediately sent all my negroes, men, women, and girls, to all my neighbors around, to search for my boy, and to inform them of what had happened. I myself took my way along a path, where in fact I found traces of a horse's feet. I followed these traces to the bayou, where I lost them. The man, with horse and child, had got into a boat—had, perhaps, gone over the Mississippi—perhaps gone down the river on the other side: where he landed, God only knows? He might have come on shore ten, twenty, fifty, nay, a hundred miles below! My anxiety now became horrible! I rode towards Hopefield—nothing had been seen or heard of my child; but all the men of the town mounted their horses to assist me in the search for my boy. All my neighbors came; and we searched a whole day and night—nothing, nothing, could we find! Nobody had seen my boy—nobody had seen the man who took him away.

"We searched the forest for thirty miles around my house. We traversed the Mississippi; went up to Memphis, and down to Helena and the Yazoo river—nothing was to be seen or heard. We returned just as we had gone—no trace, no sign!

"Returning home, I found the inhabitants of all the country around at my house. We once more set out, and searched the forest through and through. I had neither rest nor repose. Every hollow tree, every bush was searched—deer, bears, and panthers we found in abundance, but not my boy. On the sixth day of this terrible life, I returned home. My house had become a den of horror; to me everything became disagreeable and disgusting.

"My flesh was lacerated, my bones were bruised, but my mind was by far more afflicted than my body. I was sick all over, and went to bed; when on the second day one of my neighbors visited me, and told me that he had just been informed at Hopefield, by a man from Miller county, that a stranger had been seen in the streets of New Madrid, answering to the description of the kidnapper of my son. It was said that the man wore a blue coat, and that he had a brown horse, and carried a boy on the saddle before him. I forgot my sickness, and my bruised limbs. I bought a fresh horse, as I had ruined mine in the pursuit. I followed the man, rode day and night, three hundred miles to New Madrid, and on arriving there, I saw, with painful emotions, the man, the horse, and the boy. It was not my child. It was a man from New Madrid, who had been returning with his boy from a visit in Miller county. How I came home I know not. Not far from Hopefield, I was found by some persons, who brought me home. I was sick for a fortnight, and out of my senses.

"Meanwhile, my neighbors had published the horrid deed in all the papers of Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri and Louisiana; I had ridden with my friends thousands of miles.—All in vain!—No!" he cried with a heart-wrenching groan; "had my child become the prey of a bear or panther, it would afflict me, deeply afflict me; it was my only child. But, gracious Heavens! stolen! My son, my poor child stolen!"

The man ran about the room with clasped hands, weeping like a child. Even the woman was not so wofully overcome by grief.

"When I go to work," he continued, weeping, "my Dougal stands before me, and my hands hang down stiff and heavy, as if they were of lead. When I go to bed I put his bed before ours, and I call him—but no Dougal is to be seen. Dougal stands before me whether I am awake or asleep. Would to God I was no more! I have cursed and blasphemed, sworn and prayed, wept and groaned—but all—all is in vain."

I have seen many sufferers, but never one in whose heart bitter grief was so deeply settled as in this backwoodsman. His grief was indeed boundless.—We tried to console him—to inspire him with some hope; the man's eye continued to stare vacantly—I doubt whether he understood a single word of what we said.

We, ourselves, were so overwhelmed by compassion for his condition, that we could hardly utter a word.

We left soon afterward, shook hands with the unhappy couple, and promised to do all in our power to find some traces of this mysterious and horrid deed, and if possible, to help them to recover their child.

I had often recollected the poor father, and in connection with my friends, had used my utmost endeavors to discover the originator of his misfortune, but all our exertions were in vain. The robbery of the child circulated in all the papers, and become the reigning theme of conversation at all parties, and in every family; rewards were offered, arrests made, but not the slightest trace could be detected.

Six weeks had elapsed, when business brought me to Natchez; where I arrived on a pleasant afternoon in January. I had just left the steamboat, and was walking with a friend from the lower town up the vast lime hill into the upper town, when a confused noise saluted our ears. Coming farther up, we saw an increased mass of people, standing before the house of Justice Burr. We hastened forward, to see what was going on.

The multitude consisted of the better class of the society of Natchez—men, women, and children, but principally the first. Fear was expressed in every face, and a compassion, which strangely contrasted with the usual noise of such crowds. I observed mothers pressing their children instinctively to their bosoms, and embracing them convulsively, as if they feared they would be taken from them. On inquiry, I was informed that the robber of the child had at last been discovered; or at least, a man had been arrested, who was strongly suspected of the robbery of the son of Mr. Clarke, of Hopefield county.

Heartily rejoiced at this news, which promised at last to throw some light on this terrible violation of the laws of nature, I tried to press forward, but the ladies had taken so strong a position, that I could not possibly accomplish my object. It was certainly a most interesting case for ladies; but to every member of society, this terrible violation of the laws for the protection of persons and property, was of the most intense interest.

We waited there about two hours, while the crowd constantly increased. All the windows were crammed full of heads.

At last the door opened, and the prisoner between two constables, and followed by the sheriff, came out of the house to be conducted to prison.

"That's him," muttered the women, with hoarse, hollow voices and pale faces, pointing to the man who was passing through this living street; at the same time they pressed their children closer to their breasts.

And truly, if external appearance betrays the interior man, this was the child's robber. His face was the most repulsive I had ever seen;—a churlish, obdurate, stupid, malicious physiognomy, with a dark, fiendish, and sneering expression. On beholding this face, one naturally experienced a feeling of suffocation. His grey eyes were bent to the ground, and only an occasional glance, with a most fiend-like expression, fell on the assemblage, as they pressed their children more closely in their embrace. It could be seen at once that he was an Irishman. He was about the middle height; his face had an unclean, grayish look; his cheeks were hollow, and his lips uncommonly large. The whole man had a wild and disgusting appearance. His dress consisted of a blue coat and pants, both very much worn; a round, high, shabby hat, and very old shoes.

The impression made by his appearance, on the multitude, seemed to be painted in their pale faces. All looked at him with a long, terribly hopeless stare, as he walked toward the prison.

"If this man stole the child," murmured some, "then it is lost."

As soon as the crowd had dispersed, I hastened to the justice, who gave me the following explanations:

About four weeks after our excursion into Hempstead county, Mr. Clarke received a letter, signed with the name of Thomas Tutti, and post-marked "Natchez." The father was therein informed, that his son was still alive, that the letter-writer knew of his whereabouts, and that if he, Mr. Clarke, would inclose a fifiy dollar bill in his answer, the place of his boy's confinement would be made known to him.

The writer further requested, that Mrs. Clarke should come alone and unattended to the denoted place; that she should bring with her two hundred dollars more, and that after the payment of this sum, her son would be given up to her.

The unfortunate father had hardly received this ray of hope, when, at the advice of some friends and neighbors, he despatched a letter to the postmaster of Natchez, informing him of the whole affair, and requesting him to detain any person who should make an inquiry for the answer. Four days after the receipt of this communication, the above Irishman presented himself at the post-office window, and inquired whether a letter for "Thomas Tutti" had been received. Under the pretense of looking over the letters, the postmaster detained the man, and sent for a constable, who, already instructed about the affair, immediately hastened to the spot and arrested the inquirer.

On his examination it was found, that he had lived for some time in and about Natchez, and that he tried to establish a school there. But as he could not give a satisfactory account of himself, and as his behaviour otherwise appeared so exceedingly strange and remarkable, he did not succeed, and the few persons who had intrusted him with the care of their children, soon took them away.

At this time he called himself Thomas Tutti.—Nevertheless, he now denied that such was his name, or that he had written the letter, which certainly had been written by a practised, though not a masterly hand. On this investigation it also appeared, that he was perfectly acquainted with the roads and paths between Natchez and Hopefield, as well as the path leading from the latter place to the house of the unfortunate father; and with the bayous, swamps, and rivers, their depth and channels.—There was consequently sufficient evidence against him, and, on the fact that he inquired for the answer to the extorting letter, he was committed. The father of the stolen child was at the same time made acquainted with the proceedings.

Five days afterward, the unhappy father arrived with the negro boy. The whole town showed the greatest sympathy for the distressed father. A second inquiry was commenced, and all the eminent counsel were present and volunteered their services. The former depositions of the Irishman were taken as basis to the evidence, and efforts were made to elicit something from him about the place where the boy was confined; but he met every question with sullen silence.

The negro boy did not recognize him. At last he insinuated, that the mere hope of extorting money from the father, had induced him to write the letter, But as soon as this was taken down on the evidence, he turned to the father with a fiendish sneer, whispering to him: "I will still make you more miserable than you can ever make me." At the same time, he mentioned to him the place where he could find the clothes worn by his son.

The father set out, in company with a constable, for the place, found the clothes, and returned to Natchez. The accused was again brought before his judges, and after many contradictory stories, he at last asserted that the child was still alive, but that, if he was kept any longer in prison, the boy would be exposed to starvation.

Nothing could induce him to give any further explanation.

The time of the quarter-sessions had meanwhile arrived. An enormous multitude had assembled. Everything had been tried, even promises of liberty and rewards were offered to him: the man kept an obstinate silence. There were strong suspicions, but no evidences of his being an active partner in the robbery. The most eminent lawyers were of opinion that the desperate man, driven by want, had written the letter only in order to extort money. For this offense, and as a vagrant, he was committed to prison for several months.

Yet this verdict of the jury was far from satisfactory to the judge or the advocates. So mild are the laws which the free citizens of this country have imposed upon themselves—so humane their spirit, that even this foreign scoundrel escaped the punishment, which every one from his inmost heart wished to see inflicted on him. There was, in reality, something fiendish in the glowing scorn of this man—in the delight he seemed to feel at the affliction of the unhappy father, and at the harrowed feelings of the multitude—something so unnaturally fiendish, that no one could forbear to shudder on looking at him. The coolest lawyers confessed that they felt a burning anxiety to fathom the secret, and that words were wanting to express fully their feelings of indignation and horror. In a word, the disgust which he excited was universal.

The inhabitants of Natchez, especially of the upper town, are, as is well known, a most respectable class of people, and stand high in a political and literary point of view. But on this occasion their patience gave way, and the warmth of their feelings led them to perpetrate a deed, which can only be excused by their horror of the crime. On the supposed perpetrator of that crime they themselves inflicted a summary punishment. Without any previous arrangements, they met in the night on the 31st of January, with the intention of setting aside for once, the lenity of the laws, and conducting a more effective and less formal trial of the prisoner. Some of the most respectable citizens took him from his cell, and several strong negroes were supplied with cow-hides. These latter were now put in play upon his back. At every blow the strength of the executioners seemed to increase. A long time the prisoner kept the most obstinate silence; at last, however, the pain became too great, and he promised a full confession.

"In a town, about fifiy miles above Natchez, on the Mississippi," such were his words, "lives a family, the chief of which can indicate where the boy is concealed."

The sheriff had, of course, been absent from this specimen of flogging by lynch law, and had, without disapproving of the affair, pretended to know nothing about it. As soon, however, as he learned the result of the illegal act, he set out the same night, in company with the father, for the designated place.

They arrived there early next morning, and found a very respectable family of backwoodsmen, who knew of the robbery, but nothing more. The mere suspicion, that they could possibly have been privy to, or participators in this cruel act, seemed deeply to wound these honest folks. The prisoner, as he had often done before, had only trifled with their credulity.

Ardent and disappointed hope again laid the father on a sick bed. For some days he lay struggling between life and death. The public had become tired and careless—the pain was over. The prisoner's term of imprisonment had meanwhile passed. During this time everything had been tried for the purpose of eliciting a confession from the Irish rascal, but in vain; a scornful laugh was his only answer. It was impossible to detain him longer, and on the charge of child-robbery, he was, on a *nolle prosequi*, set at liberty. It had been suggested to the father, that it would be best to enter once more into a negotiation with the robber.

Both parents fell at the feet of the monster, who turned coldly from them, and whispered to the father: "You would have made me miserable, be so now yourself."

The unhappy man jumped to his feet and signified to the discharged prisoner that he must go with him. They crossed the Mississippi. Behind Concordia, the father again entreated the Irishman, once more, to tell where his son was concealed threatning, that if he did not confess it, he should not escape him alive.

The Irishman inquired how long a time he would give. "Thirty-six hours!" was the answer. For a little while the villain walked on with the parent, as if lost in thought; he then suddenly threw himself on the father, snatched a pistol from his belt and pointed it at his forehead.

The weapon missed fire; now he rushed quickly toward a bayou which was near them, but hardly had he touched the water when it closed upon him, and he sank to rise no more. An hour afterward, his corpse was found.

Of the unhappy father's son nothing has ever been heard.

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O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
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